VOLUME I

of

Developing Interactional Listening Strategies in a FL: A Study of Two Classroom Approaches

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Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis
is composed entirely by myself.

Vanessa Luk

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ABSTRACT

There are two basic approaches to the teaching of listening. The conventional teaching approach was based on the saying, 'practice makes perfect'. Recently, the approach of strategy teaching has been explored; despite some evidence as to its effectiveness in research on listening, there is still a divergence of opinion over the feasibility of the strategy teaching approach.

This study investigates the teaching of interactional strategies to non-native speakers in two-way listening contexts so they are more able to elicit responses from or negotiate meaning with their interlocutors in an attempt to solve communicative problems as they arise. It looks into the L2 comprehension and interpretation processes and the teachability of strategies in the areas of learning and communication. It explores the possibility of whether explicit instruction in strategies can be used as a means of better listening ability making learners more effective listeners or whether competence in strategy use results from practice.

An experiment was designed to evaluate the importance of the strategy and practice approaches in interactional listening so as to find out which approach is more effective in helping adult learners of English to achieve better listening in conversations.

The results indicate no quantitative differences between the performances of two groups of learners assigned to the two different teaching approaches. Perceived changes in individual subjects are analysed from a qualitative point of

view, leading to a discussion of the various factors that might be involved when it comes to teaching L2 learners interactional strategies or strategies in general.

The study concludes with the importance of using retrospective L1 interviews to look into the underlying complexity of the interaction as the qualitative data indicates that appropriate responses do not always guarantee comprehension. It underlines the role of training for teachers in strategy teaching, to equip them with a thorough idea of what such training is and involves. Teachers must develop the right kind of attitude towards innovative changes in the classroom methodology before they teach the students. There is also the need to understand the cultural and educational backgrounds of the learners which may be a hindrance to their learning as they may have undesirable influence on the learners' attitude towards the teaching approach in general, and specific tasks. Finally, the study illustrates the importance of process-based assessment using the video camera as it can provide more insights for the teacher into the learners' learning process and thus, find out what they have actually comprehended and what their real problems are.

Introduction

This study is designed to investigate the applicability and feasibility of the teaching of interactional listening strategies in L2 classroom.

The work can be divided into three parts. The first part (Chapter 1 - 3) examines the comprehension processes, the elements listeners draw on to interpret the incoming message, the strategies involved in listening and the role of the listener in meaning negotiation. The second part (Chapter 5 - 6) reviews the research into the teachability of strategies in the areas of learning and communication in the second language, and describes the types of tasks that are appropriate in developing strategic competence. The final part (Chapter 7 - 9) illustrates a practical experiment designed to measure the effectiveness of strategy training in interactional listening.

Chapter 1 considers and defines the three key words that are the focus of the study. These are: listening, strategy and interaction.

Chapter 2 looks into the comprehension processes and the possible strategies listeners use in both L1 and L2 to help them to comprehend spoken messages; Chapter 3 gives a review on the major types of strategies in language learning and communication, including both productive and receptive strategies.

Chapter 4 considers the modifications to input and interaction that native speakers (NSs) make in order to communicate with non-native interlocutors (NNSs).

The features found in NS-NNS and NNS-NNS conversations are reviewed and their effects on meaning negotiation discussed.

Chapters 5 and 6 deal with the actual teaching in the L2 classroom. Chapter 5 looks at the teachability of strategies in learning and communication by surveying work done in these two areas to find out how effective strategy teaching can be in L2 classroom. Chapter 6 examines and discusses the types of task that have been used to develop spoken communication skills in L2 learners and in particular which types are more appropriate to help to foster the L2 learners' development in strategic competence.

Chapters 7 - 9 present the practical experiment designed to investigate and compare the effectiveness of the teaching of interactional listening strategies in L2 classroom with the conventional practice approach using three required information exchange tasks as the basis for assessment. Chapter 7 describes the procedures taken in the experiment from the stage of training to the assessment of the subjects' performance on the three test tasks and their perceptions on the task expressed in retrospection interviews.

Chapter 8 analyses the results of the experiment from both quantitative and qualitative points of view, and discusses the results of the experiment. Chapter 9 looks at the limitations and presents the conclusions of the study; it is argued that for the strategy teaching approach in interactional listening to be more effective than the conventional practice approach, attention needs to be paid to training in strategy use for both learners and teachers.

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CHAPTER 1

OVERVIEWS OF 'LISTENING', 'STRATEGY' AND 'INTERACTION'

1.1 What is Listening ?

Listening involves the process of receiving, attending to and putting forward appropriate meaning to aural stimuli (Wolvin and Coakley 1985). In most face-to-face communication it interacts with speaking; in certain circumstances, however, for example, listening to the radio, listening becomes an isolated skill (Scarcella and Oxford 1992). The former situation, which requires two-way/reciprocal listening, will be called in this study 'interactional' listening; the participants take turns in playing the roles of listeners and speakers. As Bygate (1987) pointed out this process involves skills of negotiation: (1) management of interaction, i.e. the skill of knowing who is to speak next and what the topic will be, and (2) negotiation of meaning, i.e. the skill of resolving communication difficulties. Interactional listening takes place in a collaborative setting in which all participants contribute verbally, although their participation may be competitive, conflicting or asymmetrical (Rost 1990). The second situation involves one-way/non-reciprocal listening and takes place in a non-collaborative setting in which listeners have no opportunities to contribute verbally such as watching television.

Listening, indeed, is a complex and active process in which the listener not

only has to operate his aural processes but also his comprehension processes. Scarcella and Oxford (1992: 144) listed four aspects of comprehension which listening involves. These four areas are:

1. The recognition of an isolated word within the sound system;
2. The recognition of a phrase or formula;
3. The recognition of a clause or sentence;
4. The extension of speech comprehension or discourse beyond the sentence level.

According to Scarcella and Oxford (1992), these four areas are not listed in priority order; a learner may always switch back and forth from one area to another depending on other factors such as their L2 proficiency, their degree of fatigue or energy at the time their interest in the topic of the spoken discourse and the level of the complexity of the discourse.

L1 studies have shown that when a stream of sounds enters the auditory system of the listener, it is only retained for about a second in a sensory store called 'echoic memory' (Loftus and Loftus 1976) where it is organised into meaningful units by means of the listener's linguistic knowledge which includes the phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic rules of the L1. The short term memory comes into play next in the aural processing of information. At this stage, the meaningful units are patterned into appropriate syntactic units from which meaning is extracted. As soon as the meaning is recognised, the actual words are erased from memory to make room for new incoming messages while the gist of the utterance may be transferred to the long-term memory for later recoding or

recall of the message.

That description of the listening comprehension process may look simple but, as was mentioned earlier, listening comprehension is, in fact, a complex process; Nagle and Sanders (1986) emphasised the complexities involved in the decoding of a message under the operation of the listening comprehension process in L2 adult language learners. The complexities of the process are illustrated in Figure 1 below:

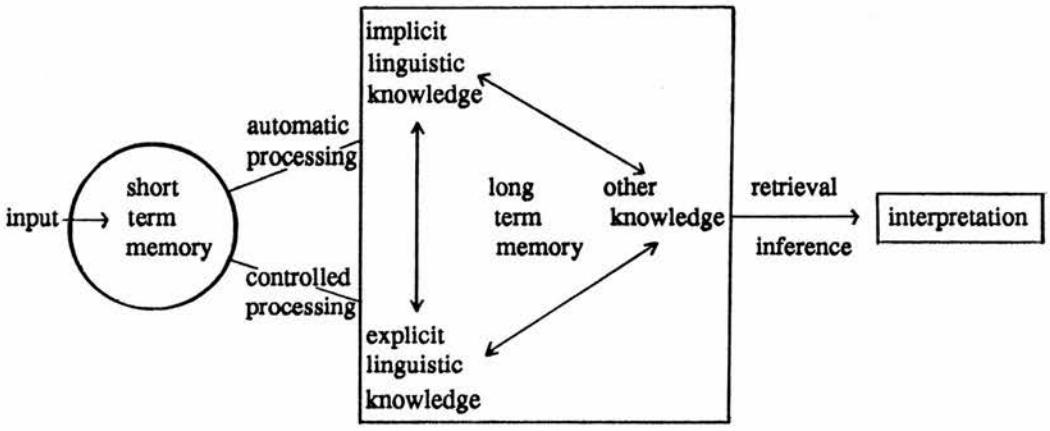

Figure 1: Listening comprehension process in L2 learners
(adapted from Nagle and Sanders 1986: 19)

According to Nagle and Sanders, information stored in short-term memory is processed by two main processing modes: controlled processing and automatic processing. Controlled processing utilizes a temporary activation of nodes in an unlearned sequence. Each node is a group of informational elements. Moreover, it requires conscious attention on the part of the learner and is used to facilitate long-term learning of all kinds including automatic processing for the learner

(McLaughlin, Rossman and McLeod 1983). On the other hand, automatic processing, which activates certain nodes in long-term memory store every time when appropriate inputs are present, operates independently of the learners' control and does not require attention (Schneider and Shiffrin 1977). Sufficient training may develop automatization of language skills, e.g.listening skills, in a language learner and this training is provided by controlled processing which will allow space for new language learning tasks if automatization is achieved. According to McLaughlin et al (1983), automatic processing is essential to comprehension since too much controlled processing may lead to overload and breakdown.

The information processed moves on to the long-term memory, which Bialystok (1978) characterized as comprising three kinds of knowledge: Explicit, Implicit and Other. According to Bialystok, Explicit linguistic knowledge includes grammar rules, vocabulary items and so on - conscious facts which the learner/listener possesses about the language. Implicit linguistic knowledge is represented by automatic information which is used spontaneously in the production of the language; Other knowledge refers to additional information the learner possesses, such as knowledge of other languages, cultural and contextual information and so on. Thus, a listener not only has to retrieve information from the long-term memory but also draws upon his inferences about new information, based on his linguistic and world knowledge before comprehension of the listening input is resulted. Other researchers have characterized the inherent complexities of listening comprehension in other ways. Feyten (1991) described the process of listening in conversation in terms of four connected activities. These four

connected activities are:

a. sensing - taking in messages verbally and nonverbally;

b. interpreting - the understanding process;

c. evaluating - sorting fact from opinion and agreeing/disagreeing with the interlocutor;

d. responding - the use of verbal and nonverbal cues in reacting to a message.

The first three of these activities, as Feyten (1991) pointed out, are not observable; the last activity, responding, is particularly important in conversation as it can indicate the speaker's success in conveying the intended message.

Listening in one's own language seems to bring about no problem at all. However, even in the native language, there are still many people who are poor listeners for any of a variety of reasons, such as lack of concentration, short auditory memory or other problems related to personal health or emotion. Cherry (1957) pointed out that there are uncertainties in communication. He identified the uncertainties as follows:

1. Uncertainties of speech sounds, or acoustic patterning - accents, tones, loudness may be varied.
2. Uncertainties of language and syntax - sentence constructions differ as conversational language allows a wider range of syntactic possibilities. Vocabulary varies as words have many near-synonyms, popular or special usages and so on.
3. Environmental uncertainties - conversations can be disturbed by street noises,

ringing of a telephone and background chatter.

4. Recognition uncertainties - recognition depends on the particular past experiences of the listener, his familiarity with the speaker's speech habits, knowledge of the language or of the topic and so on.

Further, Scarcella and Oxford (1992) also identified several factors which can influence one's listening in both L1 and L2. These factors are:

1. The nature of speech - normal speech contains many ungrammatical or incomplete forms, it also contains hesitations, repetitions, pauses, fillers, etc.
2. The nature or purpose of the listening activity - different listening activities require different listening strategies, e.g. listening to specific flight information in the airport, watching a game show on TV.
3. The degree of attention - attention is important in listening for information to be processed.
4. The physical mechanism of the ear - some listeners may not have perfect hearing mechanism.
5. The gender of the listener - different sexes have different styles of listening.
6. Differences in listening related to the listener's learning style.
7. Affective aspects in listening - some listeners, especially language learners may have a poor listening self-concept.

The wide variety of these uncertainties and influences affecting any conversational event can bring about problems in L1 listening let alone in the case of the foreign language. Although these uncertainties or factors arise in both L1

and L2 listening, L1 listening, of course, is much easier than L2 listening and in L1 listening we tend to be unaware of the language sounds that the speaker is uttering and focus our attention on the gist of what has been said. This ability, however, requires training when listening in a second or foreign language. Moreover, this ability, according to Underwood (1989: 1), is the result of a number of factors "including the large amount of language and the number of different speakers we are exposed to over the years and our acquired knowledge of the context, the speakers, the topic and so on." A successful listener, she suggested, must be able to apply knowledge of both the language system and also appropriate use of the language in order to communicate with others. He not only has to attend to what he hears but also to process, comprehend, interpret, evaluate and finally respond to the heard message. A successful listener should be involved and listen actively. Yule (1991a) pointed out the crucial role of listening not only as a complex cognitive process, but also as a sensitizing experience enabling the L2 learner to achieve better speaking performances. The evidence for the close relationship between listening and speaking is considered in Chapter 4.

Although there is a difference of degree of difficulty in L1 and L2 listening comprehension, as is pointed out by Anderson and Lynch (1988), there are more similarities than differences in the relationship between L1 and L2 listening comprehension processes. It is reasonable to assume that the listening comprehension strategies in the L1, which the native speakers may not be aware of, may also be realised in L2 listening comprehension. Block (1986) made just this point when she concluded that strategies are not language-specific, although her

research was on reading rather than listening. In a study of the comprehension strategies used by college-level students - both native speakers of English and nonnative speakers - enrolled in remedial reading classes, Block found that readers of different language backgrounds did not seem to employ strategies or patterns of strategies that were different from one another. Most of the subjects in her study used the strategy of the integration of information, e.g. connecting new information with the previous content or the strategy of the recognition of text structure, e.g. distinguishing between main points and supporting details. In other words, the Chinese speakers of English in the study appeared to use the same strategies as the Spanish speakers of English, and the native speakers of English. Thus, this suggested that the use of strategy is a phenomenon which is not bound to specific language features.

1.2 What is a Strategy?

In the initial overview of listening in the previous section, we have made frequent reference to 'strategies'. We need now to consider the ways in which the word 'strategy' is used.

The literature in both L1 and L2 (e.g. Dansereau 1978, Tarone 1981a and b, Faerch and Kasper 1983a, Weinstein and Mayer 1986) contains attempts to define the notion of a strategy and categorise strategies according to their functions in learning. In second language learning, some researchers (e.g. Cohen 1987, Wenden 1987a) used the term 'strategy' to refer to general categories of behaviour, e.g. monitoring the language performance of one's L2 which facilitates the learning of

that language. Other researchers, such as Tarone (1981b) and Rubin (1987), emphasised the function of strategies in language learning which are to help to develop the learner's language system. They can affect learning directly and are attempts to develop both linguistic and sociolinguistic competence in the target language. In some studies (e.g. Naiman, Frohlich, Stern and Todesco 1978, Seliger 1983), different terms such as 'techniques' or 'tactics' were used to refer to lower-level activities in language learning such as checking to see if nouns and verbs agree in both number and gender. Rubin (1987) identified three major kinds of strategies which contribute directly or indirectly to language learning: learning strategies, social/affective strategies and communication strategies which will be discussed in later chapters.

Van Dijk (1977a) defined strategies as goal-oriented and involving intentional, conscious and controlled behaviour. Faerch and Kasper's (1983a) definition of strategies in second language communication is reminiscent of van Dijk's, in that they have proposed that in second language communication, strategies are a subclass of plans and they are identified by two defining criteria which are problem-orientedness and consciousness. When an individual or a L2 learner encounters a problem in reaching his communicative goal, plans that are considered as 'strategies' will be employed to bring out the solution in order to reach the communicative goal. At this stage, learners should be conscious of the problems they may encounter and of the devices they can use to solve these problems. Furthermore, an L2 learner who is conscious of how he has tried to solve a communicative problem (and of establishing a plan or plans as solutions to his

problems) may be better at applying the 'strategic' knowledge that he has gained from previous experiences to new situations.

Bialystok (1984) added a third criterion to those of problem-solving and consciousness - 'intentionality'. By intentionality, Bialystok referred to the learner's choice over certain strategies applied to achieve certain effects. According to Bialystok, strategies not only function as a facilitator when problems are encountered but also as an executor of the learner's structural knowledge of the language and the attentional processes, so appropriate forms and meanings are included in language learning and production. She classified strategies as 'knowledge-based' and 'control-based'. Knowledge-based strategies such as paraphrase, circumlocution and so on, are used by both L1 and L2 speakers to select appropriate words to fill a lexical gap or to convey exactly what the speaker wants, whereas control-based strategies involve mental attention and relate to the use of the language system rather than knowledge - for example, solving a lexical gap by incorporating context. Strategies of control-based include making use of context and gestures rather than the L2 code itself. Thus, the ability to apply these strategies depends on the learner's level of development of analysed knowledge and cognitive control.

Bialystok (1990) further examined the role of these three criterial features: problem-orientedness, consciousness and intentionality on the basis of the strategies adopted in face to face communication. She argued that taking problem-orientedness as a criterion casts doubts on the status of communicative

language use as some language use may not normally be regarded as problematic but could still be strategic. For example, a NNS of English confronted with some vocabulary problem may employ a strategy; when a NS of English tries to explain to his interlocutor something with which his interlocutor is unfamiliar, the means that the NS has used is, indeed, a strategy but the utterance has lost its problematic nature. In other words, Bialystok suggested that communication strategies can take place in the absence of problem-orientedness.

The 'consciousness' criterion, according to Bialystok (1990), also carries a rather restricting implication that the use of a strategy is available only to those who are aware of language use; some utterances may be made entirely without the speaker being conscious of such production. Children would then be excluded from this feature of strategy. Earlier than Bialystok, Faerch and Kasper (1983a) also recognised and talked about the existence of this inconsistency. As Sharwood-Smith (1979) pointed out, some individuals may be less able to be conscious of their own mental operations. In view of this, Faerch and Kasper (1983a) defined communication strategies as 'potentially conscious plans' for both L1 and L2 users.

As for the feature of intentionality, Bialystok (1990) argued that there is little basis for making claims about the systematic selection of strategies. In other words, it is not apparent that there are systematic relations between the use of some specific communication strategies and specific conditions in some communicative situations. Nonetheless, the three criteria are largely based on consideration of production in communication. In other words, strategy research has

not concentrated much on reception; it will be the aim of this study to investigate how learners make use of the interactional listening strategies when necessary.

These arguments over terminology do not detract from the fact that in language learning, learners take specific actions to try to solve their problems or to respond to their current needs. Thus, strategies can be said to be means of revealing a learner's resources for understanding (Block 1986). Moreover, they can help to facilitate the learner's acquisition, storage, retrieval or use of information (Wenden 1987a). In Bialystok's (1978) second language learning model, the language learning process is operated on three levels - Input, Knowledge, i.e. explicit linguistic knowledge, implicit linguistic knowledge and other knowledge, as mentioned earlier, and Output. Strategies are learned or acquired in order to operate on information already in the explicit knowledge base for the purpose of automatization before transferring it to implicit knowledge, allowing spontaneous and immediate responses to be produced. Sharwood-Smith (1981) suggested that strategies in the use of explicit knowledge - for example, practice and repetition - may help learners to achieve what they want to learn and can eventually develop into automatized behaviour. Thus, strategies can be learned and relearned until they are routinized (i.e. become automatic).

Moreover, strategies may occur with or without awareness of the learner depending on his focus of attention; but once they become automatic, they may be performed without deliberate awareness (McLaughlin et al 1983). Some strategies, such as those related to vocabulary and syntactic comprehension, are

acquired at an earlier age than some others, such as those of taking down the main points of a written or an oral text. They may not be observable, for example, in making a silent, mental guess of an unfamiliar word from context (Wenden 1987a). Rubin (1981) made an examination on the strategies identified in the literature and described by learners themselves and she found that many are not observable since they involve learners' mental activities, little external behaviour can be seen. Strategies are interactive, in the sense that one strategy complements another; sometimes we cannot understand utterances by simply applying just one strategy and may have to apply several complementary strategies which contribute to unravel the meaning of the message or to achieve our goal in language learning. Moreover, in satisfying our specific need or accomplishing a goal in language learning, alternative strategies can be possibly employed.

So far, in language learning and communication, despite the various definitions or classifications assigned to the notion of strategy, they all seem to share one common similarity in their function. In language learning, they are, one way or another, means that language learners employ to facilitate utilisation, manipulation and acquisition of information in their target language system, while in communication, they are means that language learners draw on to bridge the gap in communicating in their target language. Further discussion of types of strategy is provided in Chapter 3.

1.3 What is Interaction?

We have considered the notion of strategy in the previous section. As the

study focuses on interactional listening, we now turn to look at how 'interaction' is defined.

'Interaction' used here is restricted to interpersonal interaction. Bygate (1987: 115g) defined 'interaction' as "the use of language for maintaining communication between participants". The definition suggests 'reciprocity' as participants are expected to alternately take on roles of speaker and listener in order to interact. There are two kinds of interpersonal interaction: social interaction and classroom interaction.

Social interaction takes place in a wide variety of social situations in our daily lives: greeting colleagues at work, paying a visit to a friend, chatting with someone at the bus-stop or meeting people in a pub and so on. Social interaction serves two kinds of functions: interactional and transactional (Brown and Yule 1983a). Transactional language is primarily message-oriented as it focuses on the transfer of information, while interactional is socially oriented, the purpose of which is to maintain social relationship.

Situations such as a headteacher discussing a pupil's problem with the parents, a driving instructor explaining the operation of the gear to a learner driver or a patient telling the doctor about his symptoms, all have a transactional function, which is to convey information. These situations take place in what Rost (1990) called 'collaborative' settings: settings in which the participants have a right or responsibility to provide feedback, however minimal it may be, e.g.

listening to a lecture, where the degree of 'reciprocity' is limited. Due to the fact that feedback may be provided, the participants may then have access to each other's or one another's understanding. Situations with a transactional purpose can also take place in 'non-collaborative' settings in which the conversation proceeds without any interaction between participants at all. For example, listening to radio or flight schedules at an airport. In these non-collaborative settings, the listener cannot respond when information is being transferred and the degree of 'reciprocity' is, therefore, zero.

The second kind of function in interpersonal interaction is interactional. Activities of this kind of conversation include meeting someone on the bus, talking to someone in a museum or in a doctor's waiting room. The primary purpose of the message, as mentioned earlier, is to "establish or maintain friendly relations between interlocutors" (Anderson and Lynch 1988: 139). Conversations with an interactional function allow greater reciprocity, as they always take place in collaborative settings.

Classroom interaction is another kind of interpersonal interaction. Classroom interaction, teacher-student or student-student, takes place in a more artificial collaborative setting. In cases when teacher interacts with students in classroom, the interaction may follow a highly predictable pattern. Malamah-Thomas (1987) illustrated this type of classroom interaction in the diagram below:

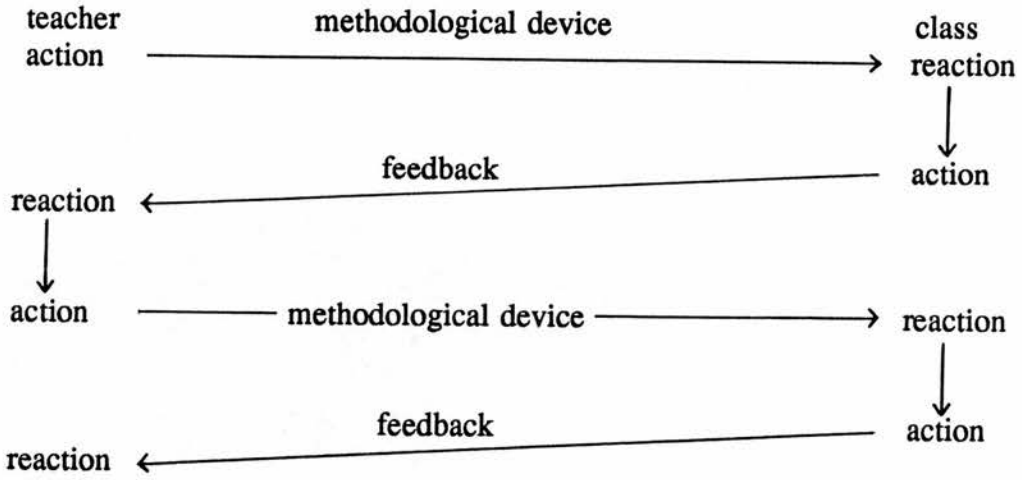

Figure 2: Teacher-student interaction
(from Malamah-Thomas 1987: 39)

The figure shows the interaction at work between teacher and learner. The teacher takes an action and some sort of reaction is prompted in the students. The reaction is then manifested into action and feedback is provided. The action/feedback from the students prompts the teacher's next action and the whole 'action - reaction - action' cycle is repeated until the lesson or the task is finished.

According to Comeau (1987: 65), teacher-student interaction is usually based on "superior knowledge and authority", which involve certain constraints. However, Comeau added that this need not affect effective interaction as long as the teachers have a more open attitude towards their relationship with the students. In other words, they must be willing to accept different opinions, mingle more freely with their students and adopt a more friendly attitude towards them.

Student-student interaction is another kind of classroom interaction and it is this kind of interaction which the study will be concerned with. As it involves a peer relationship (Comeau 1987), there is less pressure and attempt of 'face-saving', more interaction is expected than in the teacher-student situation. The characteristics of this kind of classroom interaction are further discussed in Chapter 4.

Akmajian, Demers, Farmers and Harnish (1992) pointed out that all spoken interactions are structured in the following sequence:

1. Openings;
2. Turn-taking;
3. Closings.

Greeting expressions as casual as saying "good morning", "hello" or "hi" to as formal as saying "how do you do?", "good day" mark the openings of a conversation. After the ritual exchange of greetings, someone taking part in the conversation will take the floor and start speaking. From the beginning of the stage of turn-taking, two areas of skill are identified to achieve understanding. These are the management of interaction and the negotiation of meaning (Bygate 1987), mentioned in section 1.1.

In the management of interaction, Bygate suggested two aspects: agenda management and turn-taking. Agenda management involves the right of topic selection, the development of the topics and the choice of the length of the

conversation while turn-taking involves whose turn to speak and for how long. Brown and Yule (1983b) pointed out that turn-taking can normally be identified in adjacency pairs in the form of greeting-greeting, for example:

A: Hi ya.

B: Hello.

or question-answer, for example:

A: Have you had your lunch?

B: Yeah, I've had a sandwich.

Turn-taking can be a problem to L1 users as well as L2 learners as they have to know when and how to negotiate control of a conversation. For efficient turn-taking to take place, Bygate (1987: 30) suggested five abilities:

1. Using appropriate phrases, sound or even gestures to signal one's desire to speak.
2. Recognising the right moment to get a turn.
3. Using appropriate turn structure to maintain one's turn.
4. Recognising other participants' signals of their desire to speak.
5. Knowing how to let others have a turn.

Apart from possessing the above abilities, a successful participant in spoken interactions, as has been mentioned, should also have the skill of meaning negotiation. According to Bygate (1987), to achieve understanding is what meaning negotiation is about. Thus, when communication or comprehension problems are encountered, meaning negotiation is necessary as it is a form of repair made by both conversational parties in an attempt to solve the problem. We shall not go into the

negotiation of meaning here as further discussion on this topic can be found in Chapter 4.

In the next chapter, we are going to look at the comprehension processes and the elements that listeners may draw on to help interpret the aural message in the activity of listening.

CHAPTER 2
COMPREHENSION AND INTERPRETATION IN LISTENING

How a listener processes speech is still an intriguing issue in comprehension. Research has now shed some light on the perception of speech of a listener and on what actually takes place in the listener's head before he achieves the desired level of comprehension. The sections below consider the area of speech perception, in particular the two basic modes of information-processing: bottom-up and top-down processes and other elements related to the cognitive process. Listeners' comprehension and interpretation of an aural message also depend on their general world knowledge or their social and cultural backgrounds. These areas in connection with the relevant strategies which listeners may draw upon in order to construct an interpretation of the received aural message will also be discussed.

2.1 Speech Perception

Earlier research on speech perception (e.g. Mehler 1963) was based on the concept of "the psychological reality of transformational rules" (Tarone 1974: 227) but a change was marked by Fodor and Garrett's (1966) conclusion that the relationship between linguistic rules and perceptual operations is 'abstract' rather than 'direct'. According to Kasper (1984), speech perception refers to reception of spoken language at the phonic level, whereas comprehension refers to reception at the syntactic, lexical, pragmatic and discourse levels. For adequate comprehension of a spoken message to take place, all these elements have to be taken into account. Voss (1984) stated that speech perception is made up of three components, namely, the acoustic component, the linguistic component and the

content component; acoustic information above, used simply to identify phonetic segments, syllables and words (Clark and Clark 1977) is inadequate for the perception process to take place (Voss 1984). These three components compensate for one another in the reconstruction activity of the listener so he can be able to put sounds, words and content into the right frame to derive interpretations of the acoustic input. A competent listener will use these three elements to develop context-based expectancies about the topic; context is considered to be indispensable in the process of listening comprehension. The contribution of these components and other essential ones that we need for comprehending the listening input can be seen in the diagram below by Wipf (1984: 345):

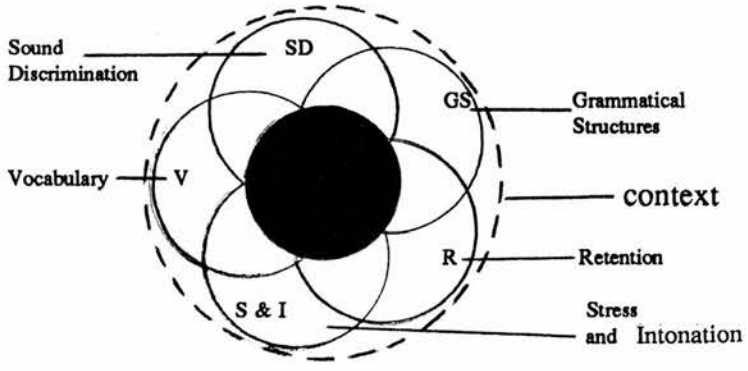

Figure 3: Components of listening comprehension

In this listening comprehension model, the darkened area in the centre represents listening comprehension and its size depends on how well the listener masters the listening comprehension skills so for L1 listeners and competent L2 listeners, the circle may become larger and entirely darkened.

The model shows the area of skill or knowledge that may contribute to better comprehension in one's listening process. As a stream of sounds enter a listener's ears, he begins to discriminate differences between sounds before he begins to identify the phonic and syntactic patterning (i.e. vocabulary, simple expressions etc.). Also, the regularity in the rise and fall of the voice is perceived. Some investigators (e.g. Pisoni and Sawuseh 1975) have argued that speech sounds are identified in three stages:

a. Auditory Stage: At this stage, no speech segments are identified. Listeners simply take in short chunks of raw acoustic signals to make an initial analysis and save the analysis result in auditory memory.
b. Phonetic Stage: Listeners look for 'acoustic cues' in their auditory memory. These cues are put together to identify certain phonetic segments.
c. Phonological Stage: The constraints on sequences of phonetic segments of the listener's L1 allow the listener to make changes to the initial identification in order to conform to these constraints.

Rost (1990: 35) briefly outlined the acoustic cues that are available to listeners. These cues are represented below in Figure 4.

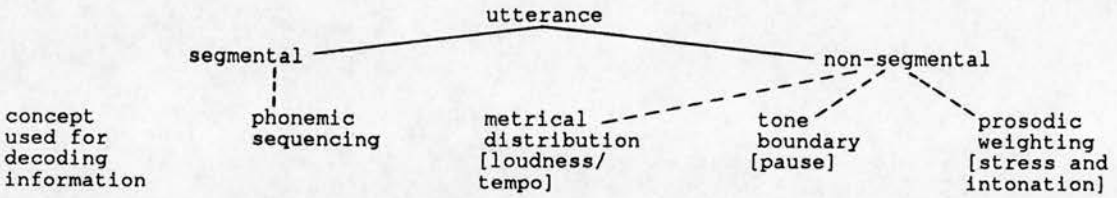

Figure 4: The acoustic cues

For an L1 speaker, the above process seems to be a trivial task. However, these can cause difficulty to L2 listeners, not only because of the short period of the retention of sounds (for about one second) in the echoic memory (Loftus and Loftus 1976) but also because of the unfamiliarity of the L2 listeners with the sounds, timing, stress, pitch and intonation of the utterances in their L1.

Brown and Yule (1983b) pointed out that spoken language is usually syntactically simpler than written language. For example, English native speakers may use fewer subordinate clauses and more incomplete sentences. In other words, speakers tend to say things in 'bits' and it is the listener's job to put these 'bits' together which may impose strains on the listener, especially if the listener is an L2 learner. Furthermore, speakers also use much less specific vocabulary than that of written discourse. Speakers often use words such as "it", "somebody", "they" and so on to refer to things and people in general, which can only be understood by the listener if he relates them to the immediate context in which they are used. Broadbent (1958) pointed out that the human organism has a limited capacity for retaining information, therefore; when people listen, only selected items of information will go from the short-term storage where exact wording is stored for

a short period of time, to long-term storage, which generally deals in meaning rather than sounds. However, comprehension will not be fully achieved until a listener makes sense of the utterance in the particular situation he is in at the time of the utterance takes place.

According to extensive studies done by Fodor and Garrett (1967), Fodor, Garrett and Bever (1968) and Fodor, Bever and Garrett (1974), a listener is not likely to perceive speech as discrete units such as [b], [d] or [g], he perceives speech as chunks, but he does not simply listen for any words or phrases since linguistic constraints allow the segmentation of these chunks into words. These constraints can be related to the grammatical composition, the intonation pattern of the sentence or cues to meaning. A study by Miller and Isard (1963) demonstrated that syntactic and semantic constraints could help listeners to predict the word order in a sentence. Thus, words can be identified more accurately if they are more predictable. In an experiment on the influence of grammatical structure on speech perception, Fodor and Bever (1965) found that the unit of speech perception corresponds to the constituent of a sentence, a term used in transformational grammar to refer to the arrangement of linguistic units in a phrase, a clause or a sentence, e.g. 'her father' - a noun phrase is a constituent whereas 'bought a car' - a verb phrase is another constituent. Moreover, Lieberman (1967) argued that the basic function of intonation is to provide cues to the listener so he can parse speech into chunks for syntactic processing. O'Malley, Chamot and Küpper (1989), found that in fact, only ineffective listeners listen for each word for interpretation, though sometimes even effective listeners[1] may turn their attention

to individual words, but only when there was a breakdown in comprehension. Nonetheless, the above studies and experiments showed how listeners segment and parse the oral input by making use of the structural characteristics and the basic principle in speech perception that listeners perceive speech as continuous and not discrete stretches of sound.

In addition to unit segmentation, Neisser (1967) proposed that there is another stage in speech perception which pertains to the linguistic rules known to the listener. Neisser suggested that there are two stages in speech processing in monolinguals:

1. a non-linguistic stage;
2. a linguistic stage.

At the non-linguistic stage, a listener screens an utterance by making use of pre-attentive processes before related information is stored in short-term memory where it undergoes preliminary analysis. The rhythmic structure of the utterance, i.e. the stressed and unstressed syllables, can serve as an aid to the listener in unit segmentation, which according to Flores d'Arcais (1989) is the basic problem in perception of spoken language because of allophonic variations, e.g. *night rate - nitrate* and the general contextual knowledge listeners normally use, e.g. *intertube - inner tube*. Nonetheless, at this point of perceptual segmentation, sufficient key semantic elements may be extracted for further analysis and strategies to be applied of the top-down type discussed in Section 2.1.2 in order to derive an appropriate interpretation. Tarone (1981a) coined the term 'interpretive strategies' to refer to

other perceptual strategies that may be employed by listeners; these include the use of nonverbal cues and language transfer, etc. (for further discussion, see Section 3.2). In addition to these 'interpretive strategies', Tarone (1981b) cited more examples of strategies in speech perception such as paying attention to the ends of words or to stressed syllables. Moreover, the redundancy present in speech also enables learners to interpret and understand a message in every case without deciphering an entire utterance (Tarone 1981b). Hieke (1987) put forth a list of speech perception strategies on the basis of restoration rules and boundary marking and which might be made available to L2 learners.

At the linguistic stage, the input of a listener is analysed in terms of grammatical rules. Neisser argued that at this stage a listener may match his grammatical rules against the aural input to construct a hypothesis about an appropriate interpretation of the utterance. If the two are equivalent, then the listener has comprehended the utterance. However, if the generated utterance is not the same as the input, then the listener has to construct a new linguistic and semantic hypothesis and generate a new utterance. In other words, a listener may use his own rules of grammar to reconstruct an utterance which matches the input stored in short-term memory. Moreover, it is this same set of grammatical rules that the listener will use in his production of speech (Tarone 1974).

Neisser's two-stage model of speech perception was supported by Tarone (1974) in relation to second language learners. Tarone explained that an L2 learner who has not completely mastered the linguistic rules of his L2 is forced to rely on

the perceptual processes in the non-linguistic stage.

As far as the linguistic stage is concerned, Bever (1970) formulated over a dozen of perceptual strategies which, however, worked on some sentences but not others. For example, according to Bever's 'Main Clause Strategy', the first clause NP + V + (NP) is taken to be the main clause, unless the verb is marked as subordinate. Thus, in sentence (1):

(1) The red car overtook the white one and won.

The 'Main Clause Strategy' works on this sentence. However, the Strategy does not work on sentences such as (2):

(2) The red car overtook the white one crashed.

This sentence would, thus, cause difficulty to L2 listeners. Moreover, Bever fails to account for the conflicts between strategies, i.e. what would happen if two strategies can both be employed to interpret a sentence. Despite the controversy over these perceptual strategies, Bever (1970) argued that many of the strategies are, in fact, universal and his view is supported by Voss (1984) who found in his dictation study that perceptual strategies used by L1 are, indeed, equivalent to those of L2. Thus, these strategies may serve as a great help to an L2 learner who may struggle hard to make sense of his target language, although it could be that the particular focus on form in a dictation task may have led Voss's listeners to adopt relatively unusual strategies.

Context, according to Wipf's model mentioned earlier, plays a more important part than any of the other components in listening comprehension. Tyler

and Frauenfelder (1987) identified two types of context: structural and non-structural. According to Tyler and Frauenfelder, structural context works at levels of phoneme, morpheme, phrase, utterance and discourse and it results from knowledge of the constraints on ways in which language items can combine. On the other hand, non-structural context refers more to the world knowledge of the listeners and results from the association of the activated concepts and the lexical items in the text. Moreover, contextual effects are necessary in speech perception since they can help in the identification of phonemes. This can be seen, for example, in work on the 'word-superiority' effects (Reicher 1969, Wheeler 1970), it is easier to recognize a letter or a phoneme in a word, e.g. [e] in 'blend', than a letter or a phoneme presented alone or in a string of Xs (Garnham 1985). In Warren (1970), subjects were asked to listen to the word 'legislature', which the /ǰ/ sound was removed and replaced by a noise such as a cough, tone or buzz, or by silence. When the word /le-cough-islature/ or /le-buzz-islature/ was played, the subjects said they had heard the word 'legislature' with the replaced noise such as a cough or tones, etc. in the background. However, if the /ǰ/ was replaced with silence, the sound was not restored. Moreover, in Lobo and Yoshida (1982), the discriminability of discrete sounds by L2 learners was investigated, and it was shown that the learners were highly dependent on their familiarity with the words in which the sounds are embedded.

Contextual effects have also been found to help at the level of semantic processing. Conrad (1985) and Wolff (1988) found that listeners make assumptions about the utterances and simultaneously look for sounds, related words

and phrases in their mental lexicon that will satisfy these assumptions. For example, when a listener hears the word 'restaurant', the listener may associate this with certain images of a restaurant and further relate it to a set of lexical items such as 'waiter/waitress', 'menu', 'wine list'. These 'schematic effects' (Rost 1990: 50) can help listeners to make more a efficient judgement of the speech heard and what may possibly be heard next.

In the active reconstruction process, the speech perception of a listener is based on the processing of larger chunks within which the sequential identification of segments is not decided primarily by the acoustic information received. A listener may sometimes process speech independently of the received acoustic information, so the version understood may be a semantically and syntactically acceptable paraphrase, or gist, of the actual acoustic content (Voss 1984). Moreover, in this study, Voss also found that the strategies used in the speech perception process of the L2 were also present in performances by the same subjects in their L1, suggesting that differences in perception are not of type, but of degree.

2.1.1 Bottom-up Processing

Both listening and reading are receptive skills and both involve 'interactive' processes (to be discussed later in the section). In fact, although listening and reading do have much in common, they differ in a number of crucial respects in the process of language comprehension. Information processing, a function of previous experience and the characteristics of the input (McLaughlin et al 1983), is divided by cognitive psychologists into two basic modes in cognitive psychology called

bottom-up processing and top-down processing. These two processes, according to McLaughlin et al (1983), are subtypes of controlled processing, which occurs in performing new language skills and is aimed at achieving automaticity.

In the bottom-up processing view, language comprehension is said to occur on a number of different levels. The process starts from the bottom and works its way up from one level to the next in a sequential order. In other words, it starts to construct textual meaning from its lowest level of the data presented (i.e. the phonemes decoded in the acoustic input) to higher levels of processing (i.e. the semantic and syntactic levels) and it is only after the processing at the syntactic level is completed that the meaning of the text (or utterance in the case of listening) is derived.

At the level of syntactic processing, it was proposed that listeners use the surface structure features of a sentence to work out its interpretation (e.g. Bever 1970, Kimball 1973). Sentences are parsed into constituents, the constituents are classified before semantic representations are constructed. However, at this level of processing, if a listener fails to identify, locate and classify the constituents then the processing becomes inapplicable, since the surface clues that the listener relies on are absent. Thus, comprehension may be hindered. Experiments on L2 listening comprehension by Conrad (1985) and O'Malley, Chamot and Küpper (1989), have shown that in fact, only ineffective listeners resort to the cues on syntactic level. However, as their proficiency in the language increases, listeners are found to base their response on contextual semantic cues from the oral text rather than on the

syntactic cues presented (Conrad 1985). Long (1990) suggested that 'good' listeners seem not to draw on their linguistic knowledge when they have relevant or familiar background knowledge. In other words, linguistic knowledge plays an important role in comprehension in cases when appropriate background knowledge or schemata are not available to the listener. However, the 'good' listeners in Long's study were self-rated and the subjects' exact proficiency level in their target language, which was Spanish in Long's study, was not indicated. Bacon (1992) also found that listeners, mostly males in her study, used bottom-up processing strategies on the more difficult or less familiar topics, whereas female listeners tended to be using the bottom-up processing strategies more consistently at approximately the same level for the listening passages. As in Long's study, Bacon simply described the subjects' proficiency in Spanish as "not yet highly proficient" (Bacon 1992: 163) and they were all students of the course beyond the arts and sciences FL requirement at a university.

Overall, the above research has shown that bottom-up processing strategies are mostly applied by less proficient language learners.

2.1.2 Top-down Processing

Top-down processing entails prediction of the content of a spoken or written text based on previous experience or background knowledge. The higher-level information content may be activated and a listener or a reader tries to search for the appropriate data to match it in order to process the information conveyed. If predictions have been made, in reading, a reader can always refer back to the text

for confirmation or refutation of his predictions. However, in the case of listening, since there is no permanent text, the listener can only resort to the incoming information or give full attention to the higher level information content since he can anticipate certain familiar sequences of lower-level information content (Rivers 1968). An L2 listener whose linguistic knowledge may not be adequate for him to anticipate certain sequences of lower-level information content, can still make this up by referring more efficiently to his world knowledge and by relying more heavily on top-down processing (Wolff 1988); how accurate this processing is will depend on the amount of relevant world knowledge and linguistic knowledge of the listener. However, the confirmation of a listener's predictions or assumptions will be easier in reciprocal/interactional listening activities, since the action or the responses of the speaker prompted by the action of his interlocutor can always prove if it is appropriate or not, and this is what the practical experiment described in Chapter 7 has focused upon - how a listener elicits responses from his interlocutor by making use of the interactional listening strategies. Top-down processing indeed is an interactive processing, according to Buck (1988), because the results of higher levels of processing may be available to facilitate processing at lower levels. Furthermore, as bottom-up processing makes use of the information present in the utterance whereas top-down processing draws upon past experience, expectations and previous knowledge and so on, bottom-up processing has been said to be a data-driven process while top-down processing is a conceptually or hypothesis-driven process (Carrell 1988).

The limitations of bottom-up processing were pointed out by Buck (1988),

who argued that the results of processing on a higher level are not available for use at lower levels. In other words, bottom-up processing involves a one-way process and is consequently inefficient. In language comprehension, it is unnecessary to utilize all the available lower level information; as pointed out earlier, the listener/reader always makes assumptions as the incoming data are being processed. Research (e.g. Bransford and Johnson 1972, Garnham 1979, Tyler and Marslen-Wilson 1982, Garrod and Sanford 1985) suggests that understanding an utterance always involves interpreting it with respect to some context other than its literal meaning. From an example taken out from Grosjean (1980: 281), it can be seen how context can help in anticipation of the uncompleted sentence:

She picked up the gun, aimed and ..... .

If an uncompleted sentence such as this one is heard by a listener, further acoustic information is not necessary, since the contextual information has already revealed that 'fired' is the most appropriate answer. As a matter of fact, this sort of prediction,which depends on context, happens quite often in conversational situations. For example, Kim is leaving for Britain and she has the following conversation with her British friend, John:

John: Britain rains a lot, it's better to take an ...

Kim: \Oh, yes, I know. I will sure bring an umbrella or perhaps a raincoat with me.

John does not have to finish his sentence before Kim knows what he was about to say, as she can infer the answer from the contextual information.

Byrnes (1984) pointed out in her theory-based article on listening

comprehension that bottom-up processing, in fact, can be a hindrance to L2 learners since their L1 language patterns can come into interference with sounds, segmentations, linguistic markers and so on. Besides, information at semantic level is more effective at reducing sentence response time than information at syntactic level (Byrnes 1984). Conrad (1985), as was mentioned earlier, also found that listeners who are more proficient in the L2 based their response on contextual semantic cues from the text rather than on syntactic cues whereas listeners who were less proficient relied more on superficial cues. In Conrad's study, the subjects involved were from three groups with different degrees of proficiency in English: a native group, an advanced group and an intermediate group. They were asked to do a post-listening and conventional cloze tests constructed from a listening comprehension text which was part of the advanced-level English language course in a university. As a result, the native subjects were found to process the aural messages using primarily semantic units, whereas the L2 subjects directed proportionally more attention to syntactic cues in the message. However, Conrad's results contradict those of Wolff (1988). Wolff carried out an experiment with L2 learners on their comprehension. The subjects were German learners of English aged from 12 to 18 years old. They were asked to listen individually to one specific text, either in an illustrated or a non-illustrated version. Each person was exposed twice to the text chosen for him or her and the choice of text depended on its linguistic difficulty. After listening to the text, they had to recall the story in their L1 (German). In this study, Wolff was able to point out that the L2 learners processed texts in exactly the same way as they did in their L1; as noted earlier, they compensated for their linguistic knowledge deficiencies by relying on their

world knowledge and on top-down processing. So there is an interesting conflict between Conrad's and Wolff's findings. Conrad found that the use of contextual semantic cues depended on the learners' proficiency level of the language, whereas Wolff suggested that the use of top-down strategies depended on the text difficulty and also on the use of the L1 as the means of indicating comprehension since language deficiencies may hinder the use of bottom-up processing.

2.1.3 Summary

Our knowledge, both linguistic and non-linguistic, provides us with expectations or assumptions about what will happen next. These expectations or assumptions, which come from our conceptual representations based on the situation portrayed in the utterance, may be so firm that we sometimes tend to ignore what has actually been said. This conceptual interpretation of meaning in the sentence happens not only in L1 comprehension but also in L2. In a L2 listening comprehension study by O'Malley et al (1989), it was found that effective (i.e. more linguistically proficient) listeners tended to use top-down processing more and relied on bottom-up processing only as needed; by contrast, ineffective listeners decoded the input on a word-by-word basis. However, we can see here that although evidence for the benefits of top-down processing has become stronger, comprehension of language in context still requires the combined utilization of a large amount of top-down information and the lower level acoustic input. This is why Rumelhart (1977, 1980) concluded that the most effective processing of text is 'interactive', which refers to a mixture of top-down and bottom-up processing, and that both may occur at all levels simultaneously.

Apart from the two modes of information processing, as has been mentioned earlier, listeners/readers may draw upon the areas to which certain strategies may be related in order to interpret the message received. The following sections will consider these areas and the related strategies as far as interpretation of the received aural message is concerned.

2.2 Schematic Interpretation

Schema theory is an attempt to deal with the question of how and where we access the information for top-down processing through the application of schemata, i.e. the previously acquired knowledge - background knowledge, structures (Carrell 1987).

Anderson, Reynolds, Schallert and Goetz (1977) pointed out that comprehension relied not only on one's linguistic knowledge but also one's knowledge of the world, stored either in propositions or schemata (van Dijk 1977b, O'Malley et al 1989).

A schema, which according to Barlett (1932: 201) is "an active organisation of past reactions or experience", is considered to be an essential element in language comprehension; research (e.g. Rumelhart 1975, Thorndyke 1977) has shown that comprehension is determined not only by the local effects of sentences or paragraphs but also by the overall organisation - the suprasentential organisation - of the text. Schema theory closely links with the two basic modes of information processing, i.e. the bottom-up and top-down processing, discussed in sections 2.1.1

and 2.1.2. According to Carrell and Eisterhold (1987: 221), "Schemata are hierarchically organised from most general at the top to most specific at the bottom". Through bottom-up processing, the elements that are necessary to construct the schemata become available while top-down processing assists to map them onto the listener's or readers conceptual expectations. Kay (1987) pointed out that schemata contain slots; once certain slots in a schema are filled with information from the text, other slots become easier to fill. In this way, schemata make the process of comprehension easier by providing a context and filling in missing information (Long 1990). Carrell (1987) discussed two types of schemata: (1) formal, which is related to the organisational structure of the text and (2) content, which is related to certain knowledge of the text. Of these two types of schemata, Carrell found that ESL reader relied more on content schemata. In reading, schema theory research (e.g. Collins and Quillan 1972, Mandler and Johnson 1977, Rumelhart 1977, Carrell 1987) showed that the greater the prerequisite or background knowledge a reader has of the content area of a text, the better is the reader's comprehension of that text. However, when both content and form are familiar to the readers, better comprehension results are achieved.

Among the little research to date on the effects of schemata on listening. Hare and Devine (1983) studied the effects of topical/background knowledge and topical interest on listening comprehension in L1. The study was designed to find out whether preassessments of general and specific topical knowledge and interest ratings can predict the level of success in listening comprehension in L1 children. The subjects in this study were to listen to a text about dolls which was read aloud

to them in class. Two topical knowledge tests were written. One comprised 10 multiple-choice questions which required text-based and reader-based responses, whereas the other test was composed of 10 multiple-choice factual questions. In this study, they found that chance and life circumstances that contributed to children's world knowledge seemed to exert a powerful influence on comprehension, in spite of the fact that some of the subjects, mostly boys, claimed that they were not interested in the topic of dolls. In fact, those who had lowest interest in dolls scored exceptionally high on the test of general knowledge. Thus, it is reasonable to conclude that the breath and depth of knowledge about a topic may be critical to text understanding. O'Malley et al (1989) found that effective L2 listeners call upon their prior knowledge to help them to comprehend the input. These schemata represent units of 'packeted knowledge' (Rumelhart 1980), which also contain information about how this knowledge should be used. When data come into our sense organs, we conjure up images which suggest but do not determine appropriate schemata for the interpretation of the message. It is not until we have the context of the whole that we are able to activate an appropriate schema to match against what has been said and give it a consistent interpretation (but which may not be the one intended by the speaker). Thus, as mentioned before, context plays an essential role in the activation of schemata, which in turn is a vital component in the comprehension process, since context provides us with necessary clues to map relevant schemata against alternative possible interpretations of the incoming data with all aspects of that schema compatible with the input. From this, we can infer that if a learner fails correctly to understand a passage, either written or spoken, it may be due to insufficient background knowledge. Brown (1986)

showed the importance in comprehension of the help of conceptual content in a particular context of an utterance. There were about 700 pairs of British students in the age range 13-16 took part in Brown's study. Two speakers A and B were involved in a conversational interaction contextualized within a specific task. Each speaker took short turns at speaking and by corollary, the other participant took short turns at listening. These short contributions on the same topic allowed the participants to look at the situation from the same point of view, so continuity and development of the context enabled them to carry out their tasks. Rumelhart (1980) gave three reasons implicit in schema theory which explain non-comprehension:

1. The learner may not have the appropriate existing schemata so he may not be able to comprehend the concept being communicated.
2. The learner may have the appropriate existing schemata but the clues provided by the text or the writer may not be sufficient enough to make the right match.
3. The learner may find a consistent interpretation of the text but may not be the one intended by the writer or the speaker. Under these circumstances, the learner may be able to understand the text but will misread the intention of the writer.

The above reasons may also hold in second or foreign language comprehension but, of course, the L2 learners must have some minimal language proficiency to activate relevant schemata. Moreover, it is important to note that another reason for their inability to come up with the appropriate interpretation of the message may be that the schema is specific to a given culture which is out of

bounds of the learner's own cultural or social ground (Carrell and Eisterhold 1987). The schematic interpretation related to culture or other unfamiliar social situations are considered in the following section 2.3.

The strategic use of schema is essential in spoken discourse comprehension; Cook (1989: 73) stated that "schemata are data structures, representing stereotypical patterns, which we retrieve from memory and employ in our understanding of discourse". The listener will make use of these mental representations of a specific situation to predict the contents of that particular situation. The linguistic and situational cues of a discourse and the listener's expectations of the incoming signals or data can activate a knowledge schema which is relevant and appropriate to the specific speech event. Thus, the listener will apply it to make sense of the discourse.

In conventional discourse input, i.e. when participants in an interactive situation, i.e. one in which conversation is taking place, share the same culture or social knowledge, a listener may then use highly generalised schemata and apply them to the actual situation which he may be in. In other words, the listener will make full use of the concept-driven process, i.e. information activated in the top-down processing strategies, strategies that may be relatively fixed and stereotyped according to his non-linguistic knowledge, to work out the interpretation of the listening input. Kasper (1984) stated that in a conventionalised communicative situation in which the listener's expectations and the activated higher-order schemata are strong, top-down processing strategies prove to be more

appropriate and efficient. However, in non-conventionalised communicative situations, since a listener can find no familiar schema which he can turn to for interpretation, then he has to resort to the data- driven process, i.e. information deployed in the bottom-up processing strategies for adequate interpretation.

Inferencing is another strategy that comes into play when a listener can find no specific schemata to match the incoming data. The listener has to employ this strategy to build connections between units of the input by making use of his general knowledge and contextual information. In interactional discourse comprehension, Akmajian et al (1992) pointed out that linguistic communication becomes possible when the speaker and the listener share a system of inferential strategies which lead to the listener's recognition of the communicative goal of the speaker and that each of these strategies has a pattern of inferencing and an appeal to different shared contextual beliefs. Further, Akmajian et al proposed an inferential model which is able to account for:

(1) The use of ambiguous expressions,

e.g. "Give me a cheap gas can" which can mean either "Give me a can for cheap gas." or "Give me a gas can which is cheap."

(2) The reference of real world,

(3) The intentions of communication,

(4) Nonliteral communication, i.e. sometimes when something is said, the listener may have to read between the lines to find out what the speaker actually means.

e.g. The speaker may say something like "Boy, this food is terrific!" which

he may say with a hint of sarcasm.

(5) Indirect communication, i.e. when something is said, the meaning is more than what the speaker means directly.

e.g. The speaker is trying to request a trouble-maker to leave, he, thus, may say "The door is over there."

(6) The non-communicative uses of language.

As far as the non-interactional discourse comprehension is concerned, Thorndyke (1976) identified two types of inferencing:

(1) When an isolated utterance is linked to a matching schema, this schema then can be used for inferences about the utterance context and any further incoming information is related to this context.

(2) When any activated schema cannot be matched against a communicative situation, inferences are then established from this communicative situation in order to connect it to some earlier situations or more generalised schema which may provide an appropriate context for the understanding of the existing situation.

In processing incoming data, as Wolff (1988) pointed out, the concept-driven/top-down process will become more and more accurate as more and more stimuli are decoded at the information-processing level, while the knowledge structure of the data-driven/bottom-up process extends. Therefore, these two modes for schemata activation are interdependent processes and operate in a complementary manner for a listener to turn to in attempting to derive

comprehension and appropriate interpretation of a spoken discourse.

2.3 Socio-interactional and Cultural Interpretation

In spoken discourse, social interaction is an essential form of communicative activity. The purposes of social interaction, as mentioned before, usually are to establish and maintain relationship with other members of the society, institution, etc; furthermore, social interaction can help to convey information of the participants in communicative activities, for example, where the participant is from, what his social status is, how his educational or family backgrounds is and so on. To understand a message in discourse in such communicative process, the listener must make assumptions about the purposes, social status, beliefs, age, personality or other social parameters of the speaker since these assumptions tell the listener about what sort of relationships he can look for, how the relationship is signalled and how it affects interpretation. These assumptions will be justified by the action or responses of the speaker. Often these assumptions may come from our prior knowledge or previous encounter with the speaker or we may derive them from the social context or the communicative situation in which we may find ourselves at the time when the social interaction takes place. As van Dijk and Kintsch (1983) pointed out, an 'interactional' strategy applied for the comprehension of a spoken discourse is one by which the listener makes reasonable anticipations or assumptions by means of the global or local social context concerning the motivations, goals, attitude and intentions of the speaker while these elements may be relevant to the cognitive or actional changes of the listener, i.e. one action may initiate other specific subsequent actions in the event of social interaction. Thus,

'interactional' in van Dijk and Kintsch's sense means the interaction between strategies rather than people. 'Conversational inference' is the term used by Gumperz (1982) for this kind of situated or context-bound process of interpretation, in which the interactants try to evaluate each other's intentions on the basis of which they can make appropriate and reasonable replies. As a listener will also adopt the role of speaker in the exchange of conversation, the other partner's gesture, eye movement, drawl and intonation (Duncan 1974), can be used by the listener to signal his floor-taking or turn-taking.

Nonetheless, for a listener to comprehend a spoken discourse, the strategies applied are not limited to these interactional exchanges of information; they may also extend to the social situations the listener may be in, since different societies may give rise to different assumptions or expectations of the listener. For example, when someone approaches us with a map in his hand, we may assume that he is a newcomer or a tourist to the city and he may expect us to give him information about how to get to a museum or any places in the city. The assumption we make here will obviously be different from the one that we make when we meet a friend in a pub; in this social situation, we may expect our friend to have a drink or a chat with us. However, our social assumptions about different social situations may be different from the cultural assumptions that we make to understand spoken discourse from another culture, which requires specific knowledge about that culture. Understanding may be only partial when our knowledge of the other culture is scanty.

Saville-Troike (1976) stated that learning one's native language is learning one's own culture; thus, learning a second language involves learning a second culture to varying degrees. Tannen (1984) supported the first part of the statement by giving an example of the New Yorkers' enthusiastic way of showing their listenership, such as shouting "Wow!" or "No kidding!", which gave no problem to speakers who shared that style since it is regarded as a sign of attention and encouragement from listeners. However, such exaggerated responses, according to Tannen, frightened and confused Californians, who were sometimes not able to get on with or finish their talk. Moreover, an example from Gumperz (1982), which took place in the employees' cafeteria at a major British airport, showed the truthfulness of the latter part of the statement. Newly employed Indian and Pakistani women were regarded as unfriendly and uncooperative by their supervisors as well as the airport staff who ate in the cafeteria. Observation revealed that, apart from the fact that few words were exchanged, the intonation and manner in which these words were said were interpreted negatively. For example, when a customer was asked whether he wanted gravy, a British server would say "Gravy?" with a rising intonation. On the other hand, an Indian or Pakistani server would say the word with falling intonation, which was interpreted by the local people not as an offer but rather as a statement: "This is gravy.", and which in the context seems superfluous and consequently rude. Studies by Gumperz, Jupp and Roberts (1979) on Asian speakers of English of different cultures showed that different cultures give rise to different assumptions about the correct behaviour in certain situations. They have different ways of speaking and also different ways of structuring information in a conversation. Furthermore, Cook (1989) suggested

that learning terms for discourse types may also involve learning a different culture because those terms may be specific to a particular culture, e.g. holy koranic text, witch doctor, dim sum and so on. This is also true to certain culture-specific situations, e.g. worship in a buddhist or hindu temple, for which the schemata may not be shared across cultures, or less culture-specific situations such as hair cutting in a hairdressing salon. The culture-specific situations may, thus, bring difficulty of comprehension to L2 listeners.

According to Fries (1945, 1963), lexical, grammatical and socio-cultural information represents the three levels that can bring meaning to a sentence; total comprehension of a sentence occurs only when the lexical and grammatical levels of the sentence are fitted into a social framework where information is organised. In the area of reading comprehension, experiments (e.g. Gatbonton and Tucker 1971, Steffensen and Joag-Dev 1984) have demonstrated that when reading texts which relate to one's own culture, texts will become more meaningful and thus easier to recall and this may be true in listening comprehension as well.

As was mentioned earlier, we construct expectations or make assumptions when we listen to anticipate what will come next; these assumptions or expectations may be of one's own culture or society if we are listening to a language other than our mother tongue and especially when the topic is not familiar to us from our cultural knowledge. In a cross-cultural study by Steffensen, Joag-Dev and Anderson (1979), subjects from India and the U.S.A. were asked to read and recall two texts describing an Indian and an American wedding. The major conclusion was that if

the reader understands what is stated in the text, i.e. he can make appropriate assumptions or they possess the appropriate schemata, mentioned in the previous section, the message intended by the writer can be understood effortlessly. On the other hand, if he does not, then he will try to interpret it with his own pre-existing knowledge structures, i.e. it may be his own cultural schemata. Thus, we can see that these socio-cultural assumptions can help us to conjure up a culture- or society-specific schema that may lead us to interpret the message in the sense of our own culture or society. However, the value or the attitude towards a religion and our own culture and so forth is so strong that sometimes we may simply reject other interpretations, even if they may be appropriate or necessary. We might take as an example the case of a devout Muslim student studying in an American university cited in Carrell and Eisterhold (1987). Students in the class were asked to read a passage that contained the following sentence:

> There is a question about the extent to which any one of us can be free of a prejudiced view in the area of religion (Baudoin, Bober, Clarke, Dobson and Silber-stein 1977: 185).

Then in a follow-up exercise they were to analyse the relation of the above sentence to the following:

> Because we can't be free of prejudice in the area of religion, we should not practise a religion.

One Muslim student in the class then refused to even think of the reasoning behind this particular sentence because he commented that the idea was false to him.

Thus, for a second or foreign language learner to achieve at least some success in the interpretation of an utterance, he first has to perceive a social situation with 'reasonable' correctness before he can respond appropriately.

As Scarcella and Oxford (1992) pointed out, language is one of the main symbol systems through which people interpret the meanings of the world around them. It is one of the main components of culture and is also a vehicle to explain or express culture. Further, it is necessary for the individual to make critical differentiations, discriminations and integrations that are normally made by the people of the culture in question (Albert and Triandis 1969). Failure to do so will probably result in inappropriate interpretations or total non-comprehension, since there always exists a strong bond between culture and language; this bond should be always there for the listener or the learner to have a thorough understanding of the meaning of the language (Rivers 1968).

In view of this, cultural strategies in spoken discourse comprehension may range wider than social strategies, since they may require knowledge of geography, different races or tribes, beliefs, and many other specific knowledge of a certain culture. Moreover, as Sherzer (1974) pointed out, even communicating with members of the same culture, but from a different generation, requires a differentiation in the strategies employed. Van Dijk and Kintsch (1983) classified these cultural strategies as speaker- or listener-oriented, and assumed that the listener-oriented cultural strategies will dominate over the speaker-oriented ones, because even if we are able to talk about different cultural knowledge or beliefs with the speaker of another culture we tend to come up with assumptions or conclusions from our cultural and social point of view rather than from the speaker's.

2.4 Pragmatic Interpretation

In listening, whether it is one-way/non-reciprocal listening, i.e. listening in which the listener does not have the opportunity to take on the role of speaker, or two-way/reciprocal listening, listeners may have to go beyond the surface meaning of the basic semantic meaning of the utterance, which can be quite different from the real meaning of what has been said. The listener has to establish meaning in relation to a speech situation - the pragmatic meaning - in order to match the intended purposes of the speaker. In other words, the task of the listener, besides listening attentively to what is said, is to interpret or to form hypotheses about the utterance. Before he does this, the listener has to take account of several aspects of the speech situation as described by Leech (1983: 13-15):

1. A listener has to take notice of to whom the utterance is addressed by the speaker. He may simply be a 'receiver', which means a person who receives and interprets the message, or he may be the addressee to whom the speaker intends to direct the message.
2. The background knowledge of an utterance is supposed to be shared by both listener and speaker as a contribution to the listener's interpretation of what the speaker means.
3. The goal of the utterance intended by the speaker.
4. The recognition of the form of act or activity in which the utterance takes place, i.e. the illocutionary act of an utterance.
5. When the listener tries to work out the meaning of an utterance, he has to consider it as a goal-directed communication and try to reconstruct what act it was a goal of the speaker to perform in producing the utterance. In other

words, he should take the relationship between the speaker and the utterance into consideration rather than the potential relationship of one sentence to another.

Besides these aspects, the listener may also have to take note of the time and the place of the utterance, the background of the speaker or speakers, the relationship between them, the nature of the conversation and what precedes it. Of course, the intonation and other paralinguistic features would probably help the listener to understand to some extent but we should note that the context is also very important in the interpretation of a spoken or written text. As Hymes (1962) said, "the role of context in interpretation is to limit the range of possible interpretations on one hand and on the other, to support the intended interpretation". Moreover, the context of an utterance or sentence provides not only the necessary elements for the application of top-down processing but also some knowledge of the semantic meaning of the utterance in the light of which it can be interpreted.

As Widdowson (1978: 54) pointed out, "discourse differences are essentially cultural rather than linguistic" and since pragmatics is a component of discourse, it is reasonable to say that pragmatic interpretation of a discourse by an L2 learner is mostly cultural and social. According to Byram (1989), learners may try to assimilate the pragmatic patterns of the target culture with those of their own when learning a target language. As we have said, the more the learner knows about the culture and society of his target language, the more reasonable his interpretation is likely to be.

Consequently, the listener may understand utterances as specific social actions such as questions, orders, promises, congratulations, requests, threats and accusations when these specific social actions are produced in some specific context.

When a listener tries to interpret a speech act in which a specific social action is performed, for example, in a sentence like 'I'll be at the cinema at 8:30 tonight.', a listener needs strategies to tell him that the utterance of the sentence is taken, in a specific context, as a promise. Therefore, pragmatic strategies link textual structures with context and a listener has to make use of the properties of the pragmatic context (van Dijk 1981) in order to employ the strategies. Contextual information, termed the 'pragmatic context' by van Dijk and Kintsch (1983), has an important role in spoken discourse comprehension (Brown and Yule 1983b), since it can serve as a constraint on the production and interpretation of possible speech acts. The contextual information which denotes its relevance for pragmatic interpretation tells the listener of the social situation, the relationship between the interactants so the listener can infer the intentions or purposes of the speaker even before the intended speech act is performed. Moreover, according to van Dijk and Kintsch (1983), the listener's search through available social and interactional information in order to anticipate possible speech acts is systematic, since there are many social properties in the context that can have nothing to do with the interpretation or evaluation of a certain speech act being performed. Under such circumstances, a listener should make use of the strategies of identification (van Dijk 1977b). In other words, a listener may try to identify if the given context is of:

- the general social context, i.e. if it is formal or informal; if it is public or private,
- the specific social context, e.g. a christening,
- the relevant factors, e.g. the speaker's social status, the role relationship of the interactants and so on,
- conventions or social norms which are related to the given context,
- the overall ongoing action and the sequence of the speech acts preceding the one that listener tries to understand.

Furthermore, as was mentioned earlier, a listener will also have to rely on perceptual processing, i.e. sound/letter and word recognition or processing of larger linguistic units. This happens not only in the case of L1 listening but also in L2 listening. However, it may create difficulty for L2 listeners as they may not be able to grasp all the incoming linguistic information as successfully as they do in their L1. They will then have to resort to top-down processing strategies since bottom-up processing on this perceptual level is incomplete (Wolff 1988). Moreover, information acquired at this level will only be through surface structure interpretation. If a listener has successfully obtained the necessary informational content of a certain speech act, then his next strategy will be to identify coherent sequences of speech acts. In other words, the listener will have to make assumptions as to which speech acts will follow the previous ones. Knowledge of typical speech act sequences can help the listener to decide which strategies will be employed to derive global or local speech acts (van Dijk and Kintsch 1983).

On hearing an utterance such as: "Where do you come from?", the listener knows exactly what can coherently follow such an utterance, so these speech acts may be connected to form meaningful sequences, preceding or following each other and the listener or the speaker needs to know and understand the constraints that work on possible adjacent utterances in discourse (Gardner 1985). Conventional speech acts such as this present no problem of interpretation for a competent listener, but there are utterances that are not considered to be conventional, such as the example taken from Gardner (1985: 44):

A: Do you know the way to Oxford Circus?

B: My shoelace is undone.

In this exchange, the response given by B does not seem to conform to our knowledge of conventional behaviour, nor can it be explained by our linguistic knowledge. According to one of Grice's conversational maxims, 'Make your contribution such as is required at the stage at which it occurs by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in while you are engaged' (Grice 1975: 207), the co-operative principle rests on the implicit agreement between the participants in a conversation, that each expects the other to conform to the maxims of quantity (or informativeness), quality (truthfulness), relevance and manner (clarity). Therefore, even in non-conventional discourse, these principles or maxims may provide strategies adopted by the listener to interpret the message in any communicative event.

CHAPTER 3
SECOND LANGUAGE STRATEGIES

Research and theory in second language learning (e.g. Hosenfeld 1977, Tarone 1981a and b, Bialystok 1984) have strongly suggested that strategies can assist language learners to develop their second or foreign language skills. Based on this principle, O'Malley, Chamot, Stewner-Manzanares, Russo and Küpper (1985a) recommended the teaching of strategies to language learners, especially to the less competent ones, so they can improve their second or foreign language skills through training in strategies.

Unlike Rubin (1987) who categorised the strategies in terms of their direct or indirect contribution in language learning, O'Malley et al classified a range of general strategies used by language learners into three categories depending on the level or type of processing involved:

- learning strategies
  a. cognitive learning strategies
  b. metacognitive learning strategies
  c. social-affective strategies
- communication strategies

In the sections below, each of these categories will be briefly discussed to try to see how they pertain to language learning and communication.

3.1 Learning Strategies

Learning, according to the cognitive psychologists, is an active process that takes place within the learners and it is the learner himself who can monitor his own process of learning. McLaughlin et al (1983) pointed out that learning involves transferring information to long-term memory and is controlled systematically by controlled processing. This processing together with the attention of the learners are necessary when learning takes place in the initial stages. Moreover, learning requires time and practice, a traditional view that is shared among teachers and is supported by Schneider and Shiffrin's (1977) theory of information processing, which emphasises the roles of automatic and controlled processing. Controlled processes are the 'stepping stones' to automatic processes, as language learners move to more and more difficult levels; when the language skills are not entirely routinized, performance can still be improved by giving the learner more time to deploy controlled processes. To Rubin (1981: 118), learning is a process by which "storage and retrieval of information is achieved". Weinstein and Mayer (1986: 316) proposed a division into two different kinds of strategy:

1. Teaching strategies - i.e. how teachers present certain learning material to the class at an appropriate time in a certain way.
2. Learning strategies - i.e. how learners organize and process the material presented by the teacher.

These may affect the rate and outcome of a learner's learning process. Weinstein and Mayer (1986) further subdivided (L1) learning strategies:

1. Rehearsal strategies for basic learning tasks, e.g. repeating the list of the

names of vitamins.

2. Rehearsal strategies for complex learning tasks, e.g. shadowing, i.e. repeating the material aloud, or copying the learning materials or underlying the main points.
3. Elaboration strategies for basic learning tasks, e.g. forming a mental image to help relating and representing words in pairs.
4. Elaboration strategies for complex learning tasks, e.g. paraphrasing or summarizing.
5. Organizational strategies for basic learning tasks, e.g. grouping items into taxonomic categories.
6. Organizational strategies for complex learning tasks, e.g. outlining and organizing.
7. Comprehension monitoring strategies, e.g. monitoring failures in understanding by underlying incomprehensible words or phrases.
8. Affective strategies, e.g. managing performance, anxiety; establishing and maintaining motivation.

In fact, the above L1 learning strategies by Weinstein and Mayer (1986: 316-23) roughly match the major types of L2 learning strategies classified by Rubin (1981) which will be discussed in the subsections below. The first six strategies identified by Weinstein and Mayer can be equated with Rubin's 'cognitive strategies', whereas their comprehension monitoring strategies, which involve setting goals for learning and deploying alternative procedures when the goal is met (Weinstein and Mayer 1986) come under Rubin's classification of 'metacognitive

strategies', and finally, affective strategies can be categorized as Rubin's 'social-affective' strategies.

Scarcella and Oxford (1992) argued that Oxford's (1990) system of six general groups of learning strategies is more comprehensive than those developed by other researchers. Oxford's six groups of language learning strategies consist of the following:

1. Metacognitive strategies, e.g. planning for language activity, evaluating one's progress, paying attention and monitoring mistakes.
2. Cognitive strategies, e.g. analysing, reasoning, summarising and practising.
3. Memory strategies, e.g. imagery, grouping, rhyming and structured reviewing.
4. Compensatory strategies, e.g. using synonyms, gestures and guessing meaning.
5. Affective strategies, e.g. minimising anxiety, encouraging and awarding oneself.
6. Social strategies, e.g. posing questions, cooperating with NSs of the target language, becoming culturally aware.

Oxford's grouping of the language learning strategies, in fact, bears a strong resemblance to those of Rubin or other researchers. Instead of grouping strategies such as imagery or guessing meaning under the broad category of cognitive leaning strategies, Oxford assigned them under the group of 'memory' and 'compensatory' strategies.

3.1.1 Cognitive Learning Strategies

According to Rubin (1981), cognitive learning strategies are those which contribute directly to the learning process. She identified the cognitive learning

strategies (Rubin 1981: 124-25) employed by L2 learners through research based on directed self-reports. This involved providing subjects with general instructions about what the researchers were looking for, so the learners could write down what actions they took to learn English during the course of the day, and focusing on specific kinds of cognitive processes. Rubin summarized her findings in the following:

1. Clarification/verification - learners use these strategies to assure themselves of the understanding of their L2. Rubin (1987) stated that learners employ these strategies to store information for further use.

   e.g. ask for correct form to use or put word in sentence to check understanding.

2. Monitoring - learners observe their linguistic and communicative errors and how the message is received and interpreted by the recipient, before they decide what they are going to do about it.

   e.g. note source of one's own error or observe and analyses language use of others to see how message was interpreted by recipient.

This strategy appears to be a combination of both cognitive and metacognitive strategies since it involves self-management to decide on what action the learner has to be taken and self- evaluation to assess one's effect of learning.

3. Memorization - learners focus their attention on the storage and retrieval processes.

   e.g. look for some association (semantic, visual, auditory or kinesic.) or take note of new items with or without examples, context or definitions.

4. Guessing/inductive inferencing - learners make use of their previously obtained

linguistic or conceptual knowledge to make assumptions about the linguistic form, semantic meaning or speaker's intention.

e.g. correlate word with actions or use clues from pictures, key words in a sentence gestures ... etc. to guess the meaning.

5. Deductive reasoning - learners look for and use general rules during learning.

e.g. find meaning of item or word by breaking it down into parts or recognise patterns of one's own pronunciation and grammatical difficulties.

6. Practice - learners try to use newly learned material accurately.

e.g. make use of new words when speaking or repeat sentences until produced easily.

However, it seems that these cognitive learning strategies identified by Rubin (1981) are, in fact, strategies of the learners for functioning effectively in the target language whereas those which are oriented to learning are more likely to be those which create opportunities for the learners to practise.

Chamot (1987) reported a two-phase study with O'Malley, Chamot, Stewner-Manzanares, Küpper and Russo (1985b) on the strategies used by ESL students to facilitate their language learning. The subjects involved in this study were 70 ESL students, mostly from a Hispanic background and classified by their school as at the beginning or intermediate level of ESL. Most of the data was collected through interviews with students on the learning strategies they used for activities in the classroom and also outside school. Students at a beginning level of ESL were interviewed in their mother tongue so their poor proficiency in English

would not hinder their explanation of their own learning strategies. The interviews revealed three important features of strategy: (1) that learners were conscious of their use of strategies in their efforts to learn the L2; (2) that neither level of students had any problem in describing their wide range of learning strategies; and (3) in many cases, they reported using more than one strategy during a single language task or activity. In vocabulary learning activities, for example, students used more learning strategies than in listening activities, which required inferencing; both levels of students favoured strategies requiring less mentally active engagement, such as repetition, rather than elaboration. As a result of the interviews, the researchers compiled a list of learning strategies reported by students and classified them under the categories of cognitive, metacognitive and social-affective, as mentioned earlier.

The cognitive strategies identified in this study are: repetition, resourcing, directed physical response, translation, grouping, note-taking, deduction, recombination, imagery, auditory representation, key word, contextualization, elaboration, transfer, inferencing and question for clarification (see Appendix I for descriptions of these strategies by O'Malley et al 1985b: 33-34).

Looking at these sets of strategies identified by Rubin (1981), Weinstein and Mayer (1986) and O'Malley et al (1985b), there seems to be overlaps but there are some differences as well. Strategies mentioned by Weinstein and Mayer and O'Malley et al seem to be more like underlying mental processes and which can be discussed in terms of the theoretical processes involved in learning. The table

below shows the overlaps and the differences of the classification of the cognitive strategies by these researchers.

Table 1: Classification of cognitive learning strategies

Rubin (1981)	Weinstein and Mayer (1986)	O'Malley et al (1985b)
Memorization	Rehearsal strategies for both basic and complex tasks e.g. copying, repeating Organisational strategies for basic tasks e.g. grouping Elaboration strategies for basic tasks e.g. forming a mental image	Auditory representation Directed physical response Imagery Key word Elaboration Grouping
Clarification	Elaboration strategies for complex learning tasks e.g. paraphrasing	Questions for clarification Translation Transfer Elaboration
Deductive	Organisational strategies for complex learning tasks e.g. organising	Deductive reasoning
Guessing		Inferencing Contextualization
Monitoring	Comprehension monitoring	
Practice		Repetition
		Note-taking
		Recombination

From the table, we can see that 'elaboration' identified by O'Malley et al seems to be related to Rubin's 'memorization' and 'clarification' but shows a stronger link to 'clarification', by which learners may ask for an example of how to use a particular word or expression. However, 'elaboration', like 'transfer' in O'Malley et al, seems to involve the learner himself only, whereas 'clarification' in Rubin involves two participants: the learner and the interlocutor.

'Translation' and 'transfer' identified by O'Malley et al are similar in the sense that both involve the use of previously acquired linguistic or non-linguistic knowledge; it seems that 'translation' is an extension of what Rubin identified under 'clarification', i.e. asking for translation from native to second language or vice

versa.

'Auditory representation' is 'memorization' based on sounds only but this strategy may not be effective if the learner does not have the orthographic representation of the word in his mind. Moreover, according to the description given by O'Malley et al, 'retention' itself cannot be classified as a strategy whereas a strategy that has to do with retention is how learners try to retain information.

The last two items in the table, 'note-taking' and 'recombination' by O'Malley et al seem not to have been identified by other researchers.

Weinstein and Mayer's comprehension monitoring strategies are close to Rubin's 'monitoring' but it would be more reasonable to put them under metacognitive strategies since comprehension monitoring requires the learner to set up learning goals for an instructional activity, to assess the extent to which these goals are achieved and to revise one's strategies of achieving these goals, so these strategies are more on the 'metacognition' side.

It is important to make clear that Rubin's (1981) classification scheme of learning strategies is not taken as a standard in the table. In fact, Rubin's classification of strategies do not seem to based on the theories of second language acquisition or cognition. Thus, according to O'Malley and Chamot (1990), it is difficult to distinguish which strategies from the list are fundamental for learning, which ones may be more useful to some learners and which may be combined with

others to achieve more effective learning.

However, it can be seen that in all these cognitive learning strategies, the key element is self-awareness; self-awareness is required since a learner is the only person who can manipulate or transform what is to be learned. According to Rubin (1987), learners who put more emphasis on the importance of learning about the language seem to use cognitive learning strategies more than other types of strategy; those strategies can assist them to better comprehension and to better recall of specific items of language. They also use these kinds of strategy to learn from the mistakes they have made. Moreover, Chamot (1987) pointed out that since the cognitive strategies are more directly related to specific learning tasks and objectives, they may not be applicable to some other types of learning tasks.

3.1.2 Metacognitive Learning Strategies

'Metacognition' is used to refer to the learner's knowledge about his own cognitive processes and ability to have control over these processes by organizing, monitoring and making modifications to them as a function of the outcomes of learning (Weinstein and Mayer 1986). According to Baker and Brown (1984: 354), there are four indexes of metacognition:

- checking the outcome of any attempt to solve the learning problem;
- planning the next move;
- monitoring the effectiveness of any attempted action;
- testing, revising and evaluating one's strategies for learning.

Thus, metacognitive strategies are those which are used to "oversee, regulate or self-direct language learning" (Rubin 1987: 25). Language learners can be their own masters when they choose to be and Flavell (1979: 906-07) analysed this self-directed ability into the following elements:

1. Metacognitive knowledge - refers to the knowledge or beliefs about what factors or variables act and interact in what ways so they can affect the course and outcome of any cognitive exercises.
2. Metacognitive experiences - refers to any conscious cognitive or affective experiences that go with and pertain to any intellectual exercises.
3. Goals/tasks - refer to the objectives of a cognitive exercise.
4. Action/strategies - refers to the cognitions or other kind of behaviours employed to achieve the exercise.

Looking at the above elements, we see that language learners, especially in self-directed learning, must first evaluate their needs and what they want to learn first, i.e. they must set their learning goals before they can plan what strategies they should adopt. According to Wenden (1986a), a change in strategies is always feasible if learners have found out that the strategies which they have been using are ineffective.

In an investigation of the learning strategies of the beginning and intermediate levels of ESL learners engaged in some language learning activities both in and out of the classroom (e.g. pronunciation, oral drills and grammar exercise, listening for main ideas and facts, etc.) done by O'Malley et al (1985b), mentioned earlier in

Section 3.1.1, metacognitive strategies tended to be used more frequently by intermediate level students than beginning level students probably owing to their higher L2 proficiency. This allowed them to reflect on their own learning style, the acquisition and function of the language so they could plan for learning opportunities and make comparisons of their own output to that of a native speaker. However, overall, learners of both levels used more cognitive than metacognitive strategies. Nonetheless, the major conclusions of this study are that learners who are of higher level of proficiency in their L2 are more capable of monitoring their learning process than learners of lower level. Krashen (1987) pointed out that students who are exposed more to their target language tend to be more capable of monitoring their own learning. Furthermore, the awareness of metalinguistic knowledge was displayed during the interviews with the learners. Such awareness of the knowledge alerts learners to compare their L1 with the L2, to transfer their linguistic knowledge when appropriate and to evaluate their successful use of L2. According to Gass (1983), metalinguistic awareness is very important to L2 learners since it encourages self-correction, makes comparison between one's L1 and L2 easier and thus may facilitate one's learning.

O'Malley et al (1989) conducted a similar study on the effectiveness of listening comprehension strategies used by L2 learners. Results showed that when listeners/learners parsed the oral texts to which they are listening, they made use not only of bottom-up and top-down strategies, but also of a variety of learning strategies such as elaboration and inferencing to aid their comprehension. The commonest of the strategies used by effective listeners[1] to help themselves to

understand the texts were two cognitive strategies (elaboration and inferencing) and a metacognitive strategy (self-monitoring). However, O'Malley et al did not provide sufficient explanation of the 'effective listeners' preference of certain strategies. Moreover, the 'effective listeners' classified by O'Malley et al were assessed as such on the subjective judgement of the teachers involved in the study and the researchers. The use of these specific strategies identified in the study could be due to listeners' not only using their linguistic knowledge but also their real world knowledge to interpret their aural input (Richards 1983). They may have elaborated on the new information by making use of what was already known or by linking up the related parts of a new text. Moreover, listeners segment parts of the oral text to infer meanings of unfamiliar words and according to Richards (1983), the size of the segment of information processed depends on the listener's linguistic knowledge, topic knowledge and how the information is presented. Thus, effective listeners may be able to use inferencing more successfully than ineffective ones and as has been mentioned earlier, learners with higher proficiency in their L2 may be better able to self-monitor their comprehension or production while it is taking place. All these may account for the effective listeners' choice of strategies.

3.1.3 Social-affective Strategies

In language learning, a learner may make use of social - affective strategies when he interacts with other speakers since interaction may assist them in learning. Furthermore, he may use some kind of affective control to achieve this purpose as well (Chamot and O'Malley 1987). Wong-Fillmore (1976, 1979) studied ways in

which Mexican children increased their communicative competence in English, identified three social strategies used by her subjects[2]. These social strategies include:

1. Join a group and act as if understanding what is going on.
2. Give the impression that one can speak the language.
3. Count on friends for help.

Wong-Fillmore thought that these social strategies were important to the children because they were more eager to make friends with their American counterparts than learn the language. Chamot and O'Malley (1987) found that these strategies were less often reported by adult L2 learners, who may have had different motivations and attitudes towards their target language than the children. Nonetheless, Chamot and O'Malley (1987) listed three social and affective strategies which they thought helpful in many types of learning activities, on the basis of research on learning strategies in L1 reading and problem solving, research in L2 learning and their own initial research. They are:

1. Questioning for clarification, i.e. to ask from a teacher or peer for additional explanation, rephrasing, examples or verification.

   e.g. NNS: What does X mean?

This social strategy seems to be identical to 'clarification' identified by Rubin (1981), since both strategies are used to clarify or verify the learning problems that a learner may encounter in learning his L2.

2. Cooperation.

   e.g. Working with one or more peers to get feedback, pool information, model a language activity or check a learning task.

3. Self-talk - this is more of an affective strategy in which learners reduce their anxiety by reassuring themselves about their own abilities. Weinstein and Mayer (1986) suggested that learners may reduce his external distractions by studying in a quiet place or thinking using 'thought-stopping' to stop thinking of doing poorly so his attention will be directed away from test and towards fear of failure. However, 'thought-stopping' does not really work when one has too much worries and anxieties.

Rubin (1981: Appendix A) considered that there are opportunities that a learner can create for himself to practise his target language. These strategies may contribute indirectly to learning but they do provide a learning environment. Those of social-affective nature are listed below:

1. Create situation with native speakers in order to clarify, test or practice.
2. Initiate conversation with fellow students, teachers or native speakers.
3. Question other students, teachers, or native speakers.
4. Attending parties held by native speakers.
5. Talk to oneself in target language.

As we can see here communication is necessary with the application of these strategies, thus the cooperative communication strategy of 'appealing' (Faerch and Kasper 1983a) can be categorized under this classification. An example of this

strategy is borrowed from the work of Faerch and Kasper (1983b: 232):

NS: What - er - colour is it?

NNS: - er - skim (laugh) er - er - what's - colour is this? (points to her sweater)

('skimlet' is Danish for 'grey' with reference to animals.)

The nonnative speaker of English in this conversation tried to answer cooperatively the native speaker's question and at the same time, attempted to elicit the correct word from the speaker which the learner's linguistic knowledge may not be sufficient to provide her with the right response. Again, we can see that these social-affective strategies though not contribute directly to learning, they put the learner in an environment or situation where practice is possible (Rubin 1987). In other words, these strategies provide learners with much exposure to the target language which they try to master.

3.2 Communication Strategies

Berlo (1960: 32) analysed the process of communication into six elements:

1. the communication source, i.e. the purpose or reason for engaging in communication;
2. the encoder which is responsible for taking the ideas of the source and putting them in a code, i.e. a language;
3. the message in which the purpose of the source is expressed;
4. the channel which is a medium, a carrier of messages;
5. the decoder to retranslate,to decode the message and put it into a form that

can be used by the final ingredient;

6. the communication receiver which has the similar systems as the communication source for communication to take place.

To give a clearer picture at how the process of communication works, the model of communication by Berlo is illustrated in Figure 5 below:

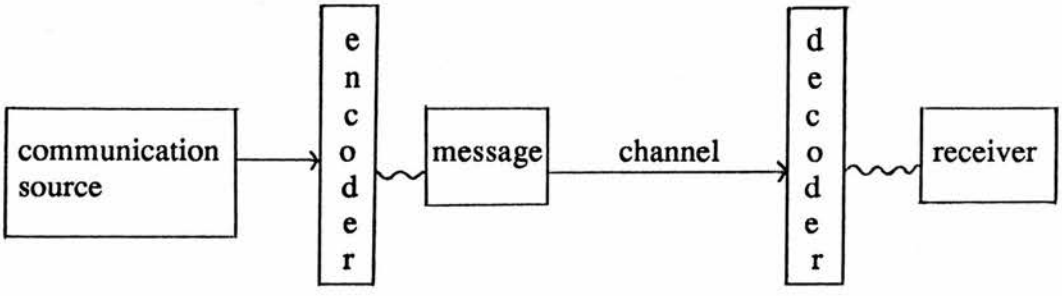

Figure 5: Process of communication

All of these elements are essential to communication and they are interdependent. Moreover, according to Berlo, communication can take place within oneself. In intrapersonal communication, Berlo said that the source, the encoder, the decoder and the receiver are all internal except the message and the channel. Thus, each one of us has the capacity to operate as both a source and a receiver since we can response to our own central nervous system - the source, which may create a new message to send to the decoder through the channel and at this point, the whole process of communication is recursive.

Berlo (1960) also pointed out that learning a language and communication are two equivalent processes[3]. However, we often overlook the fact that when we analyse learning, we are talking about communication as well. This is probably due to the two different starting points in the two processes. In the learning process, we often start with the perception of a stimulus, i.e. decoding a message; whereas in the process of communication, we often start with the intention of a source, i.e. interpretation. Faerch and Kasper (1980) echoed Berlo's view that learning takes place through communication, especially in informal L2 learning contexts.

When communication takes place, especially in the case of a L2 learner trying to communicate with a native speaker, difficulties of how to get the message across may be encountered and this is when communication strategies may come into the picture. Faerch and Kasper (1980: 60) considered that communication strategies are "a potentially conscious plan for solving what to the individual presents itself as a problem in reaching a particular goal in communication". This definition makes it clear that Faerch and Kasper approached communication strategies from a 'psycholinguistic' point of view, while researchers such as Tarone (1980, 1981b) consider communication strategies defined from an 'interactional' point of view.

The definition suggested by Faerch and Kasper (1980) contained, as we saw in Chapter 1, two criteria which distinguish communication strategies from other verbal plans: problem-orientedness and potential consciousness. The first of these

is based on the phenomenon, common in both L1 and L2, of encountering situations in which our goals in communication cannot be fulfilled possibly because of our restricted linguistic knowledge or because of limited receptive competence on the part of our interlocutor. Whichever the source of the difficulty is, a communication 'problem' requires the activation of a certain strategy.

As to the second criterion, Faerch and Kasper (1983a) considered consciousness of the problem as 'potential', as the degree of awareness in individuals varies. This criterion extends to all the strategies that are always or sometimes consciously used (Faerch and Kasper 1986). Further, they noted that consciousness is a matter of degree and that individual and situational constraints, the linguistic material and the psychological procedures involved, may decide the extent to which consciousness is achieved in the course of a particular communicative task.

According to Tarone (1981b), communication strategies are not part of the learner's linguistic knowledge; they are descriptive of the learner's pattern of use of what he knows as he attempts to communicate with a speaker of the target language. Yule and Tarone (forthcoming) emphasised that communication strategies may help to result in the development of L2 competence if they are incorporated in classroom activities that are designed to promote strategy use. Yule and Tarone's study is discussed in more details in Chapter 5. Further, Tarone suggested that communication strategies have an interactional function, which is the negotiation of meaning (for speaking and interpretation). Both Tarone and Faerch and Kasper

concentrate on the characteristics of communication strategies as seen from the view of only one of the participants in the communicative event, namely the speaker. For example, in Tarone (1980: 419), three criteria are put forward to define what communication strategies are although it is important to note that the criteria here are very much speaker-oriented:

1. A speaker wants to communicate meaning x to a listener.
2. The speaker believes the linguistic or sociolinguistic structure desired to communicate meaning x is unavailable or is not shared with the listener.
3. The speaker chooses to:
   a. avoid - not attempt to communicate meaning x

      or

   b. attempt alternate means to communicate meaning x. The speaker stops trying after this when it seems clear to the speaker that the meaning is shared.

We can see that these three criteria fail to acknowledge the listener's role in the use of communication strategies; in face-to-face interaction, the effective listener will try to integrate the information by seeking clarification and confirmation from the speaker in order to understand the aural message received. In other words, the responses given and the communication strategies adopted by the speaker, in fact, depend much on his interlocutor - the listener.

We might, in passing, mention the question of how communication strategies relate to learning, i.e. how learning results from the use of a communication

strategy. According to Tarone (1980), learning may result from the use of a communication strategy but it does not have to. Communication may also result from the testing of new linguistic knowledge, but it does not have to either. She suggested that we should therefore not think that all communication strategies are learning strategies, or vice versa, though there must be some overlap among them. Bialystok (1984) pointed out that there are many communication strategies, e.g. appeal for assistance from the interlocutor which can serve as strategies of learning. Rubin (1987) agreed with the other learning theorists that the relationship between communication strategies and learning strategies can be quite vague, especially when it comes to the process of making the meaning clear in negotiation; learners may uncover new information which they then incorporate into their language system. Communication strategies may not contribute directly to learning, e.g. a learner may employ the avoidance strategy (steering clear of words, phrases or topics which he is not confident of using) and he may, therefore, try to use other linguistic items in order to remain in the conversation. As a result, he may never learn how to use the elements about which he lacked confidence. However, communication strategies may play an indirect but essential part in progress in the L2, since they provide learners with more chances of coming into contact with the target language, so they can get their ears tuned to the new sounds, produce new utterances and test their knowledge in the target language.

Faerch and Kasper (1980) suggested that there are some communication strategies which are good for learning, e.g. the expansion strategies and there are others which are not, e.g. mime and code switching.

In Faerch and Kasper (1984), communication strategies are categorized in terms of the problems they aim at in the production and reception of speech. We shall look now in more details at the strategies that participants may employ in speech production and reception.

3.2.1 Productive Strategies

Varadi (1980) concentrated on the contrast between the adjustment made to meaning and the adjustment made to the form of an utterance in order to draw a distinction between the two types of strategies in L2 communication, which he termed 'reduction' and 'replacement' strategies. In making a meaning adjustment, the speaker can reduce the intended meaning. For example, the sentence: 'Even the cat dashes off, who has so far watched the events from the corner.' becomes 'The cat is going.' (Varadi 1983: 83). Alternatively, the speaker can replace his original communicative goal with a new one. However, the use of these meaning replacement strategies may have the risk of changing the original meaning (Bialystok 1990) or result in vagueness (Faerch and Kasper 1983b), e.g. 'The air smells bad' for 'car exhaust fume'. In making a form adjustment, the learner can operate from a reduced language system, e.g. 'ball' for 'balloon' or using replacement strategies such as paraphrasing or circumlocution, e.g. 'special toys for kids' for 'balloon'.

Corder (1983) suggested that when a communication problem is encountered, the speaker has two options open to him. The two options suggested by Corder

bear certain degrees of similarity to Varadi's. The first option is that the speaker can tailor the message to fit into the linguistic resources that he has available. The strategies produced by this option are called 'message adjustment strategies'. In the second option, Corder explained that the speaker can try to increase his linguistic resources by one way or another so that he can realise the message intended. The strategies produced under this option are called 'resource expansion strategies'. Bialystok (1990) pointed out that message adjustment strategies are measured on a dimension of globalness. They are listed below in order from most to least global:

1. Topic avoidance: avoid the entire topic if the speaker feels that there is utter inadequacy in his linguistic resource system.
2. Message abandonment: abandon certain meanings within topics.
3. Semantic avoidance: avoid certain semantic relations.
4. Message reduction: reduce what one intends to say. This strategy is similar to Varadi's 'meaning reduction' strategy.

As for resource expansion strategies, they are measured in terms of the risk involved. In other words, they run the risk of leading to misunderstanding or even a break-down in communication. These strategies are listed below in the order of the extent of the risk-taking involved:

1. Switching to L1.
2. Borrowing/inventing: make use of the linguistic resources other than the target language.
3. Paraphrase/circumlocution. This is what Varadi called 'form replacement strategy'.

4. Paralinguistic strategies.

These productive strategies identified by Corder overlap with some of the productive strategies proposed by Faerch and Kasper (1983b). According to Faerch and Kasper (1983b), when confronted with a communication problem, the language user may either adopt 'avoidance behaviour', i.e. changing their original communicative goal or he/she can rely on 'achievement behaviour', i.e. developing another possible plan. Faerch and Kasper identified two main types of productive strategies, i.e. the 'reduction strategies' governed by 'avoidance behaviour'; 'achievement strategies' governed by 'achievement behaviour'.

Further, Faerch and Kasper subclassified 'reduction strategies' into two types: formal reduction strategies and functional reduction strategies. In formal reduction strategies, the language user employs a 'reduced' language system and makes use of the accessible linguistic resources to produce speech. In functional reduction strategies, the language user reduces his communicative goal to avoid the problem. This could be due to the inadequate linguistic resources or the inaccessible linguistic resources of the language user.

Unlike reduction strategies, achievement strategies are employed to preserve the speaker's original communicative goal. These strategies are further subclassified. 'Noncooperative strategies' are those which the speaker may draw on if he decides to tackle the problem by himself. This kind of strategy can be subcategorised into the following:

1. L1/L3-based strategies, e.g. code switching.
2. IL-based strategies, e.g. substitution.
3. Non-linguistic strategies, e.g. mime, gesture.

On the other hand, if the speaker decides to ask for assistance from his interlocutor to solve the communication problem, he may use 'cooperative strategies'. The 'cooperative strategies' identified by Faerch and Kasper, so far, are the only strategies that involve both interlocutors to solve the problem in communication. The other strategies are all attempts made by the speaker alone to tackle any communication problems arise. These 'cooperative strategies', thus, have an 'interactional' nature as a joint effort to solve the problem involved. We consider these cooperative strategies in more details in Chapter 4.

3.2.2 Receptive Strategies

As was mentioned earlier, communication strategies have an interactional function. They are used by the speaker to try to obtain agreement with a listener on some negotiated meaning; it is not until some response has been given by the listener and the speaker realizes that his communicative goal is achieved that he can stop trying to employ further alternative specific communication strategies to convey his meaning. This is, thus, based on the speaker's perception of whether or not the meaning is shared with the listener; if not, it will be necessary for the speaker to resort to communication strategies. We can see that there is a mutual attempt to negotiate meaning. The speaker will use the productive communication strategies to try to get the listener to share his meaning whereas the listener's job

is to use the receptive communication strategies to signal to the speaker that whether the meaning is shared. These receptive communication strategies used by the listener are termed as 'interpretive strategies' by Tarone (1981a). Datta (1986) suggested that interpretive strategies serve two functions: (1) involve learners in interpersonal interaction in order to make target language available, and (2) involve learners in intrapersonal interaction in order to facilitate information processing and comprehension. In normal face-to-face conversation, communication and interpretive strategies are inseparable in achieving communicative repair. Receptive communication strategies are defined by Faerch (1981) as cognitive plans which are employed to solve comprehension problems that the interlocutors are aware of in situations where the communicative resources of linguistic and procedural knowledge are inadequate or fail altogether. As pointed out earlier, three criteria are used to define (productive) communication strategies: problem-orientedness, consciousness and intentionality. Faerch (1984) classified the receptive strategies into two major types:

1. Psycholinguistic strategies which involve solutions of a cognitive type.
2. Behavioural strategies which involve communicative behaviour.

These two major types of receptive strategies are discussed below using Tarone's (1981a) model as the basis.

3.2.2.1 Psycholinguistic Strategies

In Tarone (1981a: 27), a model of the interpretation of speech is given to explain how interpretive strategies help a listener, especially a second language

learner, to interpret the message received. The model of the interpretation of speech is given below:

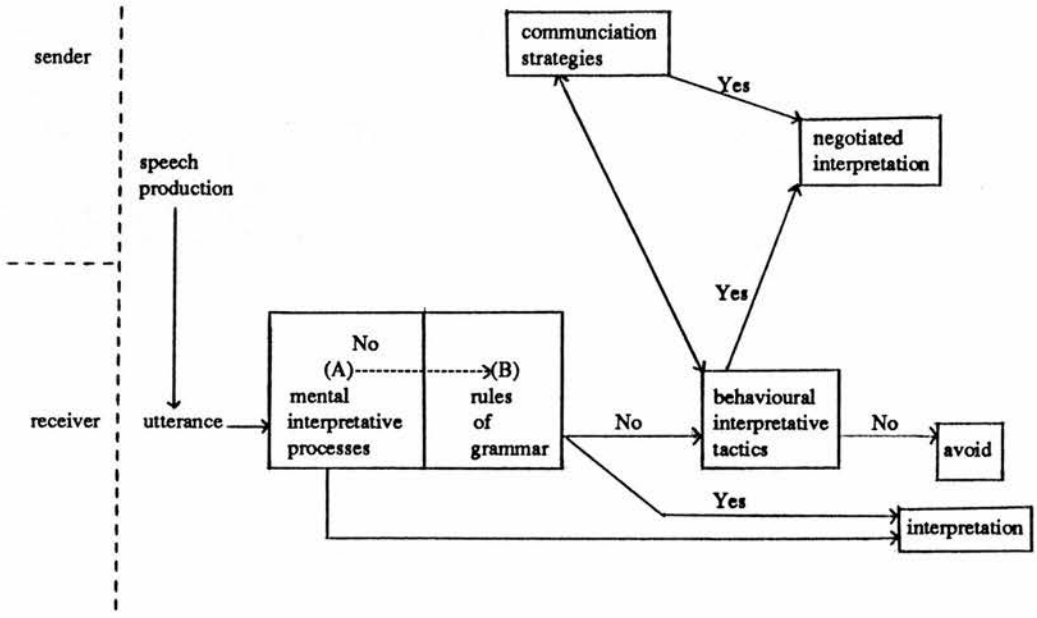

Figure 6: Model of interpretation of speech

According to this model, on hearing an utterance a listener may try to unravel the meaning of the message by using strategies of mental interpretation which include:

1. The use of nonverbal cues, e.g. facial expression, gesture and props from the physical environment;
2. Language transfer, e.g. the use of cognates;
3. Inferencing.

Inferencing, as mentioned before in Chapter 2, is a procedure which a recipient of message will employ if he has to build up links between units of

incoming data through general knowledge and contextual information (Kasper 1984). It is particularly useful to language learners since they may not process sufficient linguistic knowledge to decode messages of their target language (Bialystok 1983).

One view of the receptive side of communication is that the listener always decides on the literal meaning of an incoming utterance before he comes to realise that this may not be an appropriate interpretation of a message. Under such circumstances, he will resort to a series of inferencing procedures until an appropriate interpretation of the message is found. This is called 'multiple-meaning processing' (Clark and Schunk 1980). 'One-meaning processing' is used to refer to cases in which the interpretation of the utterances has taken place directly and, in such cases, the specific inferencing procedure is matched with the intention of the speaker (Clark and Schunk 1980). There are two types of inferencing:

a. Approximation, i.e. a listener may be able to use the context, the known topic or some other knowledge of the utterance as clues to approximate the meaning in the utterance.

Inferencing of this type is termed 'contextual inferencing' by Faerch (1981) or 'perceptual inference' by Datta (1986). L2 learners are capable of understanding input under this kind of inferencing, since it requires no specific L2 linguistic knowledge.

b. Generalization, i.e. an unknown item may be interpreted by analogy with a known item in the target language.

Goodman (1968) pointed out that inferencing procedures may come from several sources. These sources are:

a. cues within words, i.e. sound-letter relationship;

b. cues within the language flow, i.e. word-order patterns, agreements contextual meaning;

c. cues within the listener, e.g. language facility, world experience, general conceptual background;

d. cues external to both the language and the listener, e.g. pictures, diagrams, etc.

The above sources are made use of by both L1 and L2 users. Carton (1971) identified three types of inferencing procedures for language learners. These three types are:

a. Intralingual: Based on the nature of the target language.

b. Interlingual: Based on the relationships to other languages, e.g. cognates.

c. Extralingual: Based on the content and context of the message.

In Faerch (1981), 'interlingual inferencing' is suggested as another mental perceptual process which is a means of utilizing one's L1 knowledge to predict the meaning of speech in L2. Moreover, Datta (1986) pointed out that when L2 learners fail to obtain meaning from contextual clues, i.e. when 'contextual inferencing' fails to work, they may rely on 'conceptual inference' which allows them to infer meaning on the basis of the conceptions that may not exist or may be unfamiliar to

them. When this kind of inference is at work, it may be manifested in the use of loanwords, mixed code/code-switching or semantic transfer from L1 to L2.

Faerch (1981) made the point that inferencing procedures are normally used in L1 communication between peers for correct interpretations though sometimes wrong interpretations or no interpretation at all may happen by using such procedures. In addition to inferencing procedure, Faerch (1984) suggested that both knowledge-driven (top-down) and data-driven (bottom-up) processing are strategies undoubtedly used by both L1 and L2 listeners, although the amount of top-down processing relative to bottom-up processing may vary according to situation.

Bialystok (1983) referred to inferencing procedures as 'hypothesis testing' or 'informal guessing', in which the listener makes an attempt of trying out a possible solution to a linguistic or communicative problem. Bialystok suggested that the three types of inferencing procedures mentioned by Carton are attributable to the three different sources of knowledge that she mentioned in her second language learning, namely, Implicit Knowledge, Other Knowledge and Context.

3.2.2.2 Behavioural Strategies

According to Tarone's (1981a) model, if none of these mental perceptual processes discussed in the above section help the listener in obtaining the meaning of the utterance, then the listener will have to move to the next stage - the Box (B) in the diagram, at which the utterance will be analysed with the application of grammatical rules. If this also fails, then the final resort of the listener will be

behavioural interpretive tactics. Tarone (1981a) used 'tactics' to refer to some specific, immediate plans used within the broader term of 'strategy'.

In Tarone (1981a: 13), these specific strategies include:

1. Appeal for assistance, i.e. to request the speaker to repeat the utterance or to add extra information.

   e.g. NS (native speaker): What's the worm doing?

   NNS (nonnative speaker): What?

   NS: What's the worm doing?

2. Silence or hesitation sound, i.e. when a listener stays silent or he may simply provide a hesitation sound in his turn-taking of the floor to signal to the speaker that he should repeat the utterance or further information is necessary.

   e.g. NS: OK, what's the relationship between these universities?

   NNS: (silence)

   NS: Are they of the same status?

   NNS: (silence)

   NS: These 2 universities? Are they the same?

   NNS: Yes, our university is a teacher training college.

3. Mime/nonverbal tactics - these strategies can indicate comprehension or non-comprehension, e.g. a frown or a shrug, and in the example cited above, the silence of the NNS can be accompanied with a slight frown to indicate doubt or puzzlement.

4. Questioning repeat - a listener may repeat part or all of the utterance with

a rising or falling intonation to indicate his incomprehension.

e.g. NS: How many students are there?

NNS: How many? I don't know exactly.

5. Approximate the speaker's message - a listener may realise that his assigned interpretation cannot be right so he can check it with the speaker.

e.g. NNS: The jugworm.

NS: The what? Junkworm?

NNS: Jugworm?

NS: Jugworm?

NNS: Worm?

NS: Worm.

NNS: Worm, is correct?

NS: Yeah.

6. Explicit indication of comprehension - a listener may definitely let the speaker know that the meaning is shared by using a metalinguistic word or phrase.

e.g. NNS: No, he live, now in West Palm Beach.

NS: Uh huh.

NNS: Because he is working there.

NS: West Bainbridge?

NNS: West, Palm, Beach.

NS: West Palm Beach. Got it.

NNS: Mmhm. In Florida.

NS: Yeah, yeah.

The above interpretive processes are in constant use in communication and are not necessarily used solely in communication breakdown (Tarone 1981a). Faerch (1981) contended that the behavioural receptive strategies are either 'non-interactional' or 'interactional'. Non-interactional strategies, Faerch claimed, are usually employed in the interest of face-saving, i.e. the listener does not want to admit to the speaker that he is having a communication problem, and also for problem-solving. Under such circumstances, the strategy of 'avoidance' may be employed. The strategy of 'avoidance' can be phonological. For example, certain sounds like /l/ and /r/ in word initial position may avoid being used, especially by Japanese or Cantonese speakers who have difficulty in making these two sounds. Moreover, it can be lexical, an example of lexical avoidance can be found in Faerch (1981: 16):

(A and B are sitting in a pub)

A: Will you have a short?

B: (1) Yes, thank you.

or

(2) No, thanks.

If B is an L2 learner and does not understand the meaning of 'short', Faerch (1981) pointed out that, in such case, both (1) and (2) are considered to be strategic replies as the conversation may continue without the lexical problem being solved but the behaviour underlying this strategy is obviously avoidance.

However, some learners, especially those from the Far East such as Japan or China, may employ this type of strategy not for face-saving but because questions are regarded, especially in the classroom, as admissions of ignorance or inattentiveness (Rost and Ross 1991). In some cases, they are even viewed as a challenge to the teachers. Thus, learners coming from such a background may have difficulty in making the learner-initiated clarification exchanges which are necessary for the development of language understanding (Rost and Ross 1991).

In the case of a language learner who accepts his 'learning' status or is less coy about requesting assistance from his interlocutor, there would be greater willingness to adopt interactional strategies in which production is involved, for self-repair or other-initiated self-repair. Faerch (1984: 67) distinguished two major types of requests for self-repair:

1. General repair requests in which the listener only asks for a repair without identifying the element for repair. This kind of request may be followed by a specific repair in some cases.
2. Specific repair requests in which the listener identifies the repairable.

Apart from these two types of requests, 'claiming ignorance', for example, "I don't know"; is the third behavioural receptive strategy suggested by Faerch (1981). According to Faerch, the strategy of 'claiming ignorance' serves two functions:

1. Constituting a minimal response without initiating a repair.
2. Concealing a problem in comprehension or production.

In the classroom situation, this third receptive strategy seems to be adopted by certain language learners, perhaps the more passive and less motivated learners and Faerch (1981) claimed that it is a very useful strategy. It may be regarded as a form of 'avoidance' since the learner does not even bother to try to solve his communication problem by negotiating with his interlocutor. On the other hand, it does serve as a 'problem-indicator' to the speaker, though it may not be intended as such by the listener.

In short, we have seen that in order to succeed in getting meaning negotiated, both the speaker and the listener have to employ different types of communication strategies, whether productive or receptive, before the goal of communication can be achieved.

In the next chapter, we shall consider how interactants in conversations negotiate for meaning if some problem or a breakdown in communication has arisen.

CHAPTER 4

CONVERSATIONAL ADJUSTMENTS[4]

Meaning negotiation is an indispensable feature of conversational discourse. Much research (e.g. Ferguson 1975, Arthur, Weiner, Culver, Lee and Thomas 1980, Long and Sato 1983, Gass and Varonis 1985) has been conducted into the negotiation of meaning by means of linguistic and conversational adjustments adopted by native speakers (NSs) with nonnative speakers (NNSs). According to Pica, Holliday, Lewis and Morgenthaler (1989), the term 'negotiation' in second language studies refers to exchanges between NNSs and their interlocutors as they try to prevent their communications from breaking down and, at the same time, to arrive at mutual comprehension. Varonis and Gass (1985) suggested that negotiation, especially NNS-NNS discourse, serves the purpose of resolving non-understandings or of continuing the conversation. In their study, a greater number of meaning negotiations were found in NNS-NNS discourse than in NS-NNS or NS-NS discourse. They argued that the reasons are perhaps the learners' recognition of 'shared incompetence' and their different cultural or educational backgrounds. For conversational participants to reach mutual comprehension, meaning negotiations must lead to comprehensible input which, according to Krashen (1985), plays a crucial role in the process of SLA.

Recent research (Long 1983a and b, Varonis and Gass 1985, Pica 1987, Pica, Young and Doughty 1987) has suggested that modifications made by both NSs and NNSs to the interactional structure of conversations through means such as

clarification requests, confirmation and comprehension checks may increase the possibilities of mutual intelligibility, which can best assist the second language comprehension of a NNS and thus, may promote acquisition in the longer term. Long (1983b) showed that of the two types of meaning negotiation, modifications made to the interactional structure of a conversation were more extensive and more consistent in NS-NNS discourse than those made to linguistic input. He further argued that this kind of modification is of more importance than input modification in achieving comprehensible input. As Gaies (1982) pointed out, both types of modifications may help to reduce the cognitive processing and conversational burdens on the NNS and thus may leave more room for the learners to take in the input and try to comprehend it.

Before we take a look at the two different types of conversation, NS-NNS and NNS-NNS, we shall first turn to the two types of modifications that take place in conversations. The way which conversation works and its structure were discussed in section 1.3.

4.1 Input and Interaction Modifications

In the process of conversation, 'input' and 'interaction' are two phenomena taking place constantly and in the process of meaning negotiation; they may require modifications or adjustments to attempt to bridge any existing communication gaps.

Conversation, according to Krashen (1987), is a very good way to obtain L2 input, though it is quite possible to acquire input without taking part in

conversations. For example, listening to radio, lectures or watching TV and so on. 'Input' acquired in conversations may lead to progress in language acquisition, but only when the input is comprehensible to the learners (Krashen 1987). For a language learner, three main sources of input are available: native speakers outside the classroom, teachers and other learners (Porter 1986). In the language classroom, more grammatical input is expected to be provided by teachers than in any other settings. In speech directed at NNSs, 'input' is modified in a number of ways in order to make it comprehensible. Such modifications include paraphrasing of words, phrases or sentences, slower rate of speech, shorter utterances, use of a more basic set of vocabulary items/more neutral terms and so on (Chaudron 1988). However, as Faerch and Kasper (1986b) pointed out that there are certain elements in such modifications which have not been considered in research studies, for example, the features in a discourse leading to modificatory behaviour from the NS, the reaction of the NNS to such behaviour, and so on. The learner, in input modification, has often been seen as playing a passive role.

In conversation, the occurrence of input is a one-way phenomenon in which the speech form is received by the listener. The input then has to undergo several complex processes (see Figures 1 and 6) in which many elements play a part in the comprehensibility of the input and its interpretation by the listener. However, the presence of these elements is not enough to guarantee an appropriate response possibly due to the ambiguity of the utterance, the different cultures and world knowledge of the interlocutors and so on. On the other hand, an appropriate response does not always indicate comprehension either (Hawkins 1985). In

Hawkins (1985), two NSs of English were paired with two NNSs to perform four information-exchange tasks: 'grab bag' game, 'story telling' game, 'squiggle' game and 'matching pictures' game (for details, see Hawkins 1985). The subjects were given a retrospection interview after the tasks; in the case of the NNSs, the interview was conducted in their L1, Spanish. The retrospective comments of the NNSs revealed that appropriate responses did not necessarily signal comprehension. An example is taken from Hawkins (1985: Chart 10-1a):

NNS: ...Some word you need.

NS: Okay, uhm...you, uhm...When you eat you use it.

NNS: Uh-hm. ((Yes))...Spoon?

NS: No. ...Close!

NNS: Close.

NS: What else do you eat with?

NNS: ...Yes, but I don't know...

NS: Ah!

NNS: ...the name...

In the above example taken from Hawkins (1985), the NNS is trying to guess the object that her partner has drawn out from the bag in the 'grab bag' game. The NNS has asked for a clue which her partner has responded by saying that the object is used when eating. The NNS has then guessed that it is a spoon. Her partner has told her that she is 'close' which she said in her retrospection interview that she thought the NS had said 'clothes'. Thus, she thought that the object was a table cloth which she did not know the name in English but she has responded and given

what seems to be an appropriate response during the time they are working on the task. It was not until in the interview that it was revealed the 'appropriate response' given, in fact, did not signal comprehension at all.

Nonetheless, when a response or output is made, the form of the response or the output becomes 'input' to the speaker whose speech role has now reversed. The recursiveness of the reversal of the conversational roles goes on as long as the conversation is maintained. Thus, the 'input' from conversations is a mechanism that may trigger off another phenomenon to take place, i.e. interaction. Long (1983a) pointed out that these two phenomena are related but they are quite distinguishable in their own right. 'Interaction', as discussed earlier in section 1.3, is a two-way phenomenon due to the mutual responsibility of two or more participants. Each participant takes turns to contribute and collaborates with other participants to produce a coherent series of contribution. An Attempt is made below to illustrate the relationship of these two phenomena in conversations.

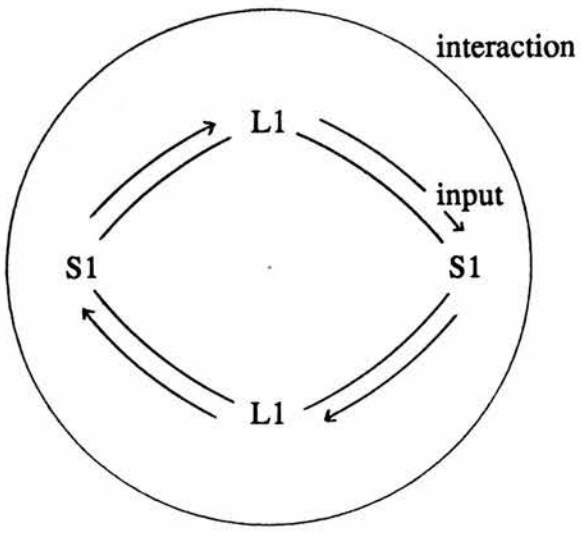

Figure 7: Relationship of 'input' and 'interaction'

The 'S' in the diagram denotes the speaker and 'L' refers to the listener. The number '1' denotes that they are the same speaker and listener in this diagram but can be more than two participants. The arrow shows the direction of the flow of input. The outer ring in the diagram represents the whole interactional process which is made up of the entire conversational structure.

As interaction requires the participation of both the listener and the speaker, not only modifications of utterances in isolation, i.e. modification of the linguistic forms, should be taken into consideration, but also the modifications in the interrelationship of the utterances produced by the interactants, i.e. the modifications take place in the interactional structure are necessary to be looked into. Modifications of this kind include comprehension and confirmation checks, expansion and clarification requests and so on. Nonetheless, modifications in conversations may take place on a purely interactional or input basis. Consider the following example in a NS-NNS conversation:

NS: Where were you last night?

NNS: Eh?

NS: Where were you last night?

NNS: A pub, I was at a pub.

NS: A pub?

NNS: Yeah, I was there until 12.

In the above example, the NS repeats exactly his initial question after it fails to elicit a response perhaps due to non-comprehension or inaudibility. His

self-repetition succeeds in bringing out an appropriate response from the NNS and in order to be sure he has heard it correctly, he confirms it by repeating the response of his interlocutor. This brief exchange involves the modifications to the conversation alone. However, in another example cited below:

NS: What time you have?

NNS: 6 o'clock.

In this brief conversational fragment, the NS has modified the input for the NNS. However, the interactional structure of the exchange is not modified. Thus, the modifications of input and interaction can take place independently despite their close relationship.

In the following sections, we shall consider the features that characterise the two types of conversation: NS-NNS and NNS-NNS and how meaning negotiation, i.e. the use of 'cooperative strategies' (Faerch and Kasper 1983a), mentioned earlier in Chapter 3, under the joint effort of the interactants, plays a part in solving communicative problems that may arise in these conversations.

4.2 NS-NNS Conversations

The devices used by NSs to negotiate meaning with NNSs also occur in interactions between NSs (e.g. Long 1981) and between NNS (e.g. Schwartz 1980). Conversation between a NS and a NNS was originally termed 'foreigner talk' by Ferguson (1975) and later the term 'foreigner talk discourse' (FTD) was used to refer to discourse of this nature (Hatch 1978, Larsen-Freeman 1980). FTD has no

unique characteristics but displays features whose occurrence is more frequent than in equivalent NS-NS conversation. Firstly, in FTD, talk about any topics tends to be briefer; in other words, there are fewer topic-continuing to topic-initiating moves (Arthur et al 1980). Secondly, in FTD, the NSs have a tendency to initiate talk on new topics by using more questions than statements. According to Goody (1978), since questions can easily bring out or prompt answers, the NSs may utilize them as a means to get the NNSs involved in the interaction and to elicit conversational interchange. This may prove even more effective when the NNSs are of elementary proficiency in their L2. Under these circumstances, questions can thus be used for topic initiations, for three reasons:

a. The linguistic features associated with a question such as the inversion of subject and auxiliary verb, the rising intonation and so on can be signals to the NNSs that their speaking turn is imminent.

b. The adjacency pairs in the form of question and answer draw the participants to their turns of speaking (Brown and Yule 1983b).

c. Questions facilitate the conversational burden of the NNSs since they can supply their response with single words or phrases or even a 'yes' or 'no'.

In both kinds of conversations, wh- and yes/no questions seem to be the most favoured forms of question in topic-initiating moves. Yes/no questions are employed twice as often by NSs in FTD (Long 1980). The reason for this is possibly due to the fact that yes/no questions are complete propositions, the respondent simply has to deny with a 'no' or confirm with a 'yes'. Thus, the linguistic task of the NNSs will be made easier. On the other hand, wh-questions

are incomplete propositions which require information for a missing element and thus, may pose as a burden to NNSs whose linguistic ability of the language is yet to be sufficient.

In FTD, questions of all kind are used more widely whereas statements are more frequent in NS-NS conversations. In Gaies (1982), questions for topic nomination are used more frequently by NNSs than NSs. However, in NS-NS conversations, there are more topic continuation to topic initiation moves and all the topic continuations in the NS-NS data found in Long (1980) are in the form of statements. Furthermore, more uninverted questions are employed more often than wh-questions, yes/no and tag questions in T-units and fragments whereas in NS-NS, wh-questions seem to be the most favoured. Long (1980) claimed that repetitions of the previous speaker's own words are one way to make communication easier. As the repeated phrases would be in the form of a question, the addition of rising intonation is thus necessary to make various functions, e.g. to help immediate recall, of the repetition clear.

Further, in FTD, the NSs are found to use significantly more or-choice questions than in NS-NS conversations. Hatch (1978) pointed out that the use of or-choice questions is to open more choices to the NNSs so they can take part in the conversation much more easier. They simply have to choose the appropriate answer among the list of potential responses provided by the NSs in the form of questions.

In addition to questions that take the conversation forward, there is an important set of questions used to repair or maintain comprehension. These three subtypes of question (Chaudron 1988) occur in casual conversation between NSs and NNSs or even conversations in general despite different native languages spoken by the participants serve to signal to the participants the flow of information in previous utterances (Long and Sato 1983) and to make sure the same assumptions, knowledge or identifications of referents are shared (Chaudron 1988). These three functions or subtypes of question are:

a. Comprehension checks

e.g. - Alright?

- Okay?

- Do you understand?

b. Confirmation checks

e.g. - Did you say 'left'?

- S: You go straight.

L: Straight?

c. Clarification requests

e.g. - What do you mean by that?

- What?

The three types of question can be used as interactional listening strategies, and provide the focus for the experiment in this study. Further, they have been shown to take place more frequently in FTD than in NS-NS conversations (Long 1980).

Apart from these features found in the modifications of interaction in NS-NNS conversation or FTD, Long (1983a) established a set of devices: strategies, tactics, and strategies and tactics (see Table 2). Long stated that NSs tend to modify their interactions with NNSs under two conditions: (1) when they try to avoid trouble in conversation on the whole, (2) when they try to repair the discourse when trouble arise. In the former condition, 'strategies' are used to aid the conduct of the entire conversation; in the latter, 'tactics' are used to repair the conversation. Long (1983a) distinguished 'strategies' from 'tactics' on the basis that the former are part of a longer term plan of the NSs, while 'tactics' are spontaneous solutions to immediate short-term problems arising in conversations. Finally, some interactional devices are used as both 'strategies and tactics', i.e. in order to avoid or repair conversational trouble altogether. However, most of the devices, according to Long (1983a), appear more often to serve just one function to the other. If this is the case, they should then be categorised under either 'strategies' or 'tactics'. Long's list of 'strategies', 'tactics' and 'strategies and tactics' is shown in the following table.

Table 2 : Devices used by native speakers to modify the interactional structure of NS-NNS conversation

Strategies (S) (for avoiding trouble)	Tactics (T) (for repairing trouble)
S1 Relinquish topic control	T1 Accept unintentional topic-switch
S2 Select salient topics	T2 Request clarification
S3 Treat topics briefly	T3 Confirm own comprehension
S4 Make new topics salient	T4 Tolerate ambiguity
S5 Check NNS's comprehension	
Strategies and Tactics (ST) (for avoiding and repairing trouble)	
ST1 Use slow pace	ST4 Decompose topic-comment constructions
ST2 Stress key words	ST5 Repeat own utterances
ST3 Pause before key words	ST6 Repeat other's utterances

Source: Long 1983a: 132

In Long (1983a), findings showed that the NSs tend to try to give up and pass on the control of the current and subsequent conversational topics to the NNSs. The intention of relinquishing topic-control may have to do with the attempt of the NSs to bring the NNSs into their communication activity. The NSs would try to select the commonest topics to converse in order to encourage the NNSs' participation. Moreover, the topics in the NS-NNS conversation appeared to be related more to the present or current affairs. Besides this selection of salient topics, the NSs also may use some devices such as using 'okay', 'well', 'now' to mark the closure of the old topics and beginning of new ones so as to help the NNSs to make appropriate responses. Sometimes, not only frames accompanied with a high-fall intonation are used but also a slower pace, stress of key words,

pause before or after these words or the breakdown of the topic, i.e. decomposition (Long 1980) can all contribute to the saliency of the new conversational topics. However, among these devices, decomposition is more complex than the others and appears to occur only to the NNSs who have more prior foreigner talk experience (Long 1980).

In NS-NNS conversations, there are situations when the NSs may fail to establish a new topic and subsequently, a breakdown in communication will occur. To repair such conversational trouble, the NSs will consider first dropping the topic altogether and treating the inappropriate response as a topic nomination. Such acceptance of unintentional topic-switches allows the continuation of the conversation. Moreover, the NSs' tolerance of ambiguity is another way to sustain the conversation. The ambiguity or misunderstanding that leads to inappropriate responses is allowed to pass without having to make change in topics. Given these features, more abrupt topic-shifts and less predictable sequence of topics can be noted in NS-NNS conversation (Scarcella and Higa 1981).

Self-repetition and other-repetition are another feature of meaning negotiations or conversational adjustments in FTD. Self-repetition includes partial or incomplete repetition and paraphrase. In L2 classrooms, teachers' self-repetitions are considered important, on the assumption that repetitions may give more time to the learners to process input or perhaps follow the teacher's model (Chaudron 1988). A teacher's immediate repetition with the aim of giving a signal to the class to attend to something, for example, "Look at the map on p.29, the map on p.29"

is useful since a relevant item of information is dispersed over a longer stretch of discourse and therefore, may promote comprehension. Slower speech and pauses may also serve this function. In Chaudron (1983), repetitions were shown to aid its immediate recall in an L2 listening comprehension experiment with simulated lectures. Moreover, according to Pica, Doughty and Young (1986), a greater number of repetitions can, in fact, assist NNSs' comprehension.

Other-repetitions often focus on the most important information, reproduced with rising intonation. According to Varonis and Gass (1982), this may be due to the fact that the NSs may need more time to plan how to interact with person who is not a native speaker of their language. This may also be true to the NNSs who need more time to think and rehearse their next utterance. Other-repetitions may also serve as a confirmation request of the NSs who want to confirm their mental representation. Moreover, they are used as a way of negotiating the topic if the topic is considered to be vague by the NSs.

In summary, one might say that all these features of FT form part of the communication strategies of the NSs who are involved in the FTD. As Tarone (1980) stated, these communication strategies seem to be extended efforts to negotiate some clarification of the learner's intended meaning or to provide alternative means of communicating the NS's intended meaning.

4.3 NNS-NNS Conversations

In the course of conversation, especially in NNS-NNS discourse, negotiation always serve one of the two purposes: (1) the negotiation of non-understanding or (2) the continuation of the conversation (Varonis and Gass 1985). A model for the negotiation of meaning between pairs of NNSs was proposed by Varonis and Gass (1985). The model is represented as follows:

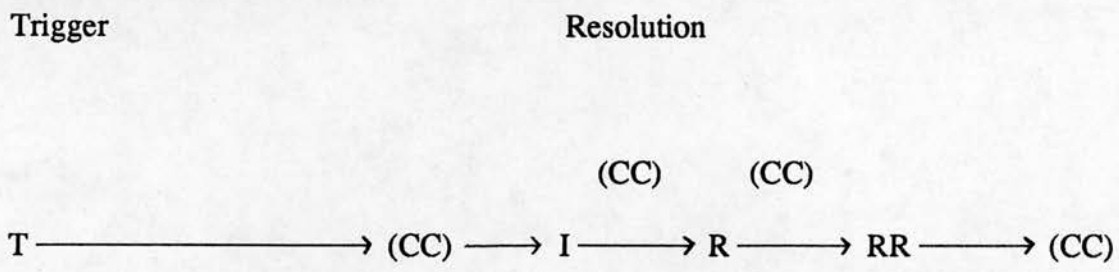

Figure 6: Proposed model for non-understandings
(adapted from Varonis and Gass 1985: 74-75)

In this model, the first part is composed of a trigger, represented by T while the second part is resolution which contains an indicator (I), a response (R) and a reaction to the response (RR). The trigger is actually the entire or part of the utterance of the speaker which may cause some non-understanding to the listener. Thus, the listener may either ignore the trigger or try to comment upon it. In the first case, the listener probably gives an irrelevant or general reply in the hope that more information will be given to solve his non-understanding, or he may simply remain silent to see if the next incoming information can give him a clue. If the listener chooses the second alternative for negotiation, he may echo the trouble source or simply appeal directly for assistance in the form of a question, an answer

or a 'fragment' - a nonclausal item such as a single word or phrasal utterances (Pica and Doughty 1985a).

In the resolution part, the indicator is the listener's utterance that denotes non-understanding of the previous utterance, i.e. the trigger. Indicators can take the form of an echo accompanied with either a rising or falling intonation. The respondent can also signal his non-understanding with an explicit statement, such as "I don't understand" or he can simply remain taciturn. Response (R) is an acknowledgement of the non-understanding in some way. Responses can be made in the form of repetition, expansion, rephrasing, acknowledgement or reduction. Finally, the reaction to the response (RR) is an optional unit in the model. However, it serves a function of helping the speakers move back to the "main flow of the conversation" (Varonis and Gass 1985: 77). Comprehension checks (CC), e.g. "Do you know what I mean?", can take place in between any of these units. Any participants of the conversation can simply relinquish the whole process at any point marked by an arrow if they do not think that there is a need for negotiation or they are not interested in doing so.

The model, as suggested by Varonis and Gass, can also be used to describe the process of negotiation between native speakers who may share different values, educational background and so on.

Very often, L2 learners may not receive all their input from native speakers, especially when they are not living in the target language community (Schwartz

1980). This situation is quite true in L2 classrooms, in which teachers may well not be native speakers of the target language. Under such circumstances, L2 learners may need to negotiate for meaning in order to achieve understanding and achieve the communication purpose; in this way, NNS-NNS interaction will be like NS-NS and NS-NNS conversations, except that they are likely to require much more involvement in their negotiation process (Varonis and Gass 1985) since both/all participants are NNSs. In addition, the L2 learners may not share the same linguistic and cultural backgrounds as their peers, i.e. they may come from different countries and have different L1s. It was found in Varonis and Gass (1985) that the more interlocutors had in common, for example, their language proficiency or mother language, the fewer their negotiations. This is supported by a study conducted by Takahashi (1989) in which results showed that a NNS's speech became brief and hesitant when he/she shared with the listener the same native language background and when the listener had a low proficiency in the target language, which was English in Takahashi's study. Further, it was found that the use of meaning negotiation by the L2 speaker increased when he/she talked with an interlocutor with a different native language background and proficiency level in the target language. Takahashi's study also confirmed that an L2 speaker asked more questions and dominated the conversation when their interlocutor's target language proficiency was lower, but they were found to ask fewer questions when their interlocutor's proficiency of the target language was higher. However, Takahashi added that this tendency perhaps was due to factors such as the speaker's familiarity with the interlocutor's speech and background as well as the availability of common topics.

This finding of Takahashi's was echoed by Yule and Macdonald (1990) and Yule (1990, 1991a). In Yule and Macdonald (1990), subjects came from a wide range of L1 backgrounds which included Chinese, Korean, Hindi, Marathi, Tamil, Sinhalese, Bengali, Kannada, Konkani, Luo, Punjabi, Urdu, Arabic, German and Dutch. The 40 subjects were paired with different L1s to perform a 'required information exchange' task. 10 pairs were put in the condition H>L, where 'H' stands for higher proficiency in English, 'L' stands for lower proficiency in the pairs with 'H' as senders/speakers. The other 10 pairs were in the condition L>H, in which the lower proficiency student was the sender/speaker and the higher proficiency student was the receiver/listener. Yule and Macdonald found that in the H>L pairs of their study the talk was simply a one-way talk with little feedback; the higher proficiency speaker, in a more dominant role in terms of information available, appeared to think that their lower proficiency partner would contribute very little to the task. On the other hand, this phenomenon changed among the L>H pairs; Yule and Macdonald explained that the L>H interactions, with the lower proficiency subjects as the speakers, forced the higher proficiency speakers to listen as well as to speak. Moreover, they learned to take their interlocutor's perspective into account and to try to make their contributions fit into their partner's particular interactive knowledge. In Yule (1990), results also showed that when the less fluent member of the pair plays the speaker, who is in a more dominant position as the one who does the transfer of the 'correct' information, more effective communication is to take place. Yule explained that it is because the burden of information transfer is shared more equally and no one is to take charge of the

interaction as a more fluent participant may have done. Moreover, when the listeners in Yule's study took up the role as speakers in another communicative task, it was found that their performance was better and they showed more willingness to solve the problem by taking the listener's world into account (Yule 1990). Yule, Powers and Macdonald (1992), as mentioned earlier, also pointed out that in their later roles as speakers, the subjects are sensitized to the requirements and difficulties of their listeners because of their prior experience in the same position.

In NNS-NNS conversations, more errors and problems of understanding are expected to arise, thus, repair which includes self-initiated and other-initiated repairs is necessary in the process of negotiation (Schwartz 1980). Moreover, repairs, an interactional feature in the input, may promote SLA (Porter 1986). In most social interactions, especially in NS-NNS, other-repair is not desirable since no interactional participant is supposed to have any right to judge other's linguistic behaviour (Chaudron 1988). If it has to be done, it should be done with tact and prudence (Chaudron 1988) or if there is a secure relationship between the NS and his interlocutor, then correction by others can be made (Day, Chenoweth, Chun and Luppescu 1984). However, in the case of NNS-NNS conversations, other-repairs may be seen as more appropriate since neither of the participants is an L1 speaker, they may feel more at ease or even less ashamed to admit their incompetence in the language. Therefore, they are more readily and willing to accept being corrected and this has been shown to lead to significantly more talk between each other (Porter 1986).

However, negotiation between NNSs and NNSs may not always result in comprehension. This proved to be the case in a study by Cameron and Epling (1989), although their findings may have been due to the limited proficiency of both participants and, moreover, the arrangement of their dyads. Subjects in their study were classified as 'active' or 'passive' before they paired up into active-active (A-A), active-passive (A-P) and passive-passive (P-P) dyads. The classification was based on the subjects' active and passive participation in previous conversational exercises in the classroom. Each pair then had to undertake a two-way problem-solving task, 'find the difference' in which both participants had to put their heads together to find out the differences between their pictures. Results showed that the A-A and A-P pairs performed significantly better than the P-P pairs. Cameron and Epling were able to conclude that active pairs of L2 learners were better at solving the task than passive pairs. Further, when a passive L2 learner was paired with an active one, they were equally as effective at task solution as the active-active pairs. However, in terms of negotiation, they concluded that negotiation features, i.e. the communication strategies, did not always lead to comprehensible input. Their conclusion on negotiation features, thus, lends support to Aston's (1986) suggestion that negotiation features do not always result in comprehension.

Nonetheless, negotiation can be effected through the employment of various techniques take place in the conversation (Schwartz 1980). 'Micro-markers' are a kind of discourse signals and which are used as signals of lower-level information (Chaudron and Richards 1986), such as "I mean", "well", "you know" and so on or non-lexical discourse markers such as pauses, "uh" etc. are very often signals to

self-initiated repair which refers to the repair that is done by the person who initiates the trouble source. Other than the repair function, micro-markers may also serve as filled pauses since they provide no semantic information to the conversation and give listeners more time for bottom-up processing as they try to put individual segments of a discourse together before they move on to a higher-level processing (Chaudron 1983).

During the repair, a number of operations may also take place. These include:

a. word replacement - one item is replaced by another.

   e.g. 'university' for 'school'

b. reordering - a unit is stopped before it is completed and a new item is inserted to necessitate a reordering of the clause.

   e.g. "Wha - what kind of language do they - what do they say?"

c. word search - when a word is not available for recalling.

   e.g. NS: Yesterday I bumped into uhh...what's his name...Calvin?

According to Schwartz (1980), NSs usually use (c), the word search operation, when somebody's name is forgotten. However, this does not seem to be true since NSs do have word-search problems as well except in the case of NNSs, word-search possibly involves very often lexical items because of limited knowledge of vocabulary in the target language. Word search is not only a means of achieving understanding among speakers but also "a tool for building a unit

together" (Schwartz 1980: 145) if it involves the interactional participants collaborating to try to find the correct word.

In other-initiated repairs, repetition of the trouble source turn is often employed to initiate repair of the speaker. Moreover, question signals such as "hmm", partial repetition of the trouble source together with a wh-question word such as "give you what?" and so on are all part of the various initiator techniques.

So far, we have considered verbal features of conversation; in the next section, we shall look into the role of some non-verbal features.

4.4 Non-verbal Features in Conversations

The non-verbal features available in the process of conversation must not be overlooked as they may make a significant contribution towards the success of the process, particularly in the case of conversation involving NNSs.

The study of non-verbal behaviour has been classified into three areas: **proxemics**, which means the physical distance between people or objects; **kinesics**, which refers to body language such as facial expressions, gestures, postures, head nods; **paralanguage**, which refers to vocal characteristics such as loudness, tone, pauses and hesitations (Wolfgang 1979). This type of behaviour is evident and indispensable in speech. According to Kendon (1972), the non-verbal behaviour of communication are related to a person's production of speech in three possibilities:

1. When the speaker is unable to utter the ideas in words.
2. When the speaker feels there is a need to facilitate his speech-encoding process.
3. When the speaker feels nervous and tongue-tied.

Galloway (1979) pointed out that non-verbal sources of information is like an expressive network that does the job of revealing and informing. Argyle (1975) suggested that non-verbal behaviour may facilitate the organisation of the discourse in helping the arrangement of topic-initiation, topic-maintenance and finally, turn-taking.

During interaction, non-verbal features can signal a repair initiation other than verbal features. In Schwartz (1980), it was found that the L2 learners would stop, say "uh" every time they wanted a self-initiated repair. Further, they would turn their gaze away from their interlocutors, look up and down or sometimes even flutter their eyelids. This might be accompanied with hand movements such as turning their hands back and forth at the wrist until the repair was made. In the operation of word search in Schwartz's study, mentioned earlier, the speakers were observed to use a wide range of extralinguistic features, such as gaze shift, flutter of eyelids, lip movement, hand rotation, change of posture and use of iconic gestures.

Argyle (1975) pointed out that gaze shifting is used to regulate the synchronization of utterances and gaze is often used as an affiliative signal such as

starting an encounter, greeting and as a feedback collector, i.e. to indicate that a point in the speech has been received and understood (Argyle 1979). Moreover, when the speakers try to make an other-initiation repair, gaze is always accompanied by change of posture, expression and parting of lips, which are termed as 'speech preparatory' actions by Kendon (1972).

According to Argyle (1975), head-nods, in speech connection, serve a very important function in showing approval, recognition or acknowledgement as they are coordinated between two interactors. In the course of interaction, head-nods can signal to the other participant that it is now his turn to speak or he can continue speaking. On the other hand, rapid head-nods may serve as signals of the listener's wish to speak.

Facial expression is another form of non-verbal behaviour that is always used in close combination with speech. A listener in a conversation may show his reactions to what is being said by raising his eyebrows or the small movement of his lips to denote doubt, surprise, disapproval, happiness and other sorts of emotion (Argyle 1975). A speaker may also provide appropriate facial expressions to signal that what he has said is supposed to be serious, funny or something else (Vine 1971). In the classroom, facial expressions of learners can be very helpful to a teacher, who can monitor them to ensure comprehension of the teaching point has taken place, if the learners tend to be reticent and reserved in verbal behaviour in the classroom. This is especially true in teaching a classroom of Chinese learners (Ng 1975), who are expected to be more self-disciplined and restrain their emotion

in classrooms.

Looking at the interlocutors, i.e. eye contacting, during the process of communication is important not only in communicating interpersonal attitudes but also establishing relationships (Argyle and Dean 1965). It has been found that people look at their interlocutor about twice as much while listening as well as while talking (Argyle 1975). This is closely associated with the verbal channel of communication, since it is used significantly to obtain information, which is the focus of any communication activities. For example, getting feedback on the other interactional participant's responses or obtaining extra information about what has been said while listening. Moreover, the act of looking signals to the interlocutors that a certain amount of interest is shown on them.

Gestures are another kind of non-verbal behaviour which may be used to replace speech (Argyle 1975) or to accompany and support it (Vetter 1969, Graham and Argyle 1975). For example, a teacher may draw learners' attention to an important point by pointing at the notes written on the blackboard or a transparency on the overhead projector and at the same time explaining the notes. However, the use of gestures, may not be acceptable in some cultures; as Chen (1990) pointed out, the use of many gestures is considered to be impolite in Chinese culture. Nonetheless, in Riley (1981: 153), four categories of gestures are distinguished in terms of their communicative function:

1. Emblems: these normally function as verbal surrogates and include gestures such as 'Thumbs up' or 'V-sign'.

2. Illustrators: gestures relating to the propositional content of the message, e.g. "It was in this shape...".
3. Enactions: gestures relating to the illocutionary force of the communicative act, e.g. beckoning to command "Come here".
4. Batons: those behaviours relating to the prosodic characteristics of the message such as rhythm and tempo. (This does not imply that they are subsidiary to the vocal/verbal realisations.)

Finally, there is the personal appearance of the interlocutors which may affect the interactants' expectation towards each other since the main purpose of manipulating appearance is to present oneself, i.e. sending messages about one's social status, occupation, education, etc. in addition to conveying information about one's personality and mood, by putting on appropriate attire (Argyle 1975).

Wolfgang (1979) suggested that non-verbal behaviours, should be borne in mind by all good teachers, as the class atmosphere may be made more relaxed and so learners can be more responsive and attentive. He claimed, moreover, that this may lead to better learning rates.

Besides these physical non-verbal behaviours, there are also the non-verbal aspects of speech termed 'paralanguage' by Wolfgang (1979), which may tell the listeners the speaker's attitude to or emotions about what he is saying. The two may accompany each other and according to Harper, Wiens and Matarazzo (1978), the non-verbal aspects of speech are content-free, i.e. they are not associated with

language itself, thus, do not affect the meaning of utterances but they are present in the utterances to give support, emphasis or any particular shades of meaning to what the speaker is saying (Richards, Platt and Weber 1985). As pointed out by Vetter (1969), a rise in pitch at the end of an utterance tells the listeners that it is intended to be a question, a fall in pitch indicates that the speaker has completed what he has said whereas constant pitch denotes that the speaker is continuing whatever he is talking about. Moreover, throughout the syntactic unit of utterances, the pitch changes are always accompanied by the movement of the head, the eyes and the hands. For example, the speaker may raise his pitch on the micro-markers, e.g. "here", to capture the attention of his interlocutor as to what may follow subsequently. This is sometimes accompanied with a finger pointing upwards or a raise of the eyebrows.

In addition to all these non-verbal aspects of speech and behaviours that take place in classrooms, teachers may make use of some visual devices such as drawings, flow-charts, pie diagrams or pictures which may relate to the content of what the teacher intends to teach in order to achieve a more coherent unit of communication.

Galloways (1979) pointed out that the realities of the non-verbal behaviours of communication are significant to human understanding and according to Widdowson (1978), when we listen, we not only try to understand a piece of discourse by simply listening but also we have to take account of the non-verbal elements present in the discourse, since they serve as a mediator to transfer

information from one discourse to another. After all, L2 learners' knowledge of these non-verbal communication devices and their ability to interpret them may represent a way of linking communicative abilities in their L1 to their realisation of these abilities in their L2.

Research (e.g. Schwartz 1980) has shown that NNSs make use of non-verbal behaviours as a support for or an emphasis to what they say. However, there is not enough evidence to judge whether these behaviours are used differently or strategically in NS-NNS conversations. Nonetheless, the paralinguistic features such as loudness, tone, intonation or stress in non-verbal behaviours have been found to be present in NS-NNS conversations (e.g. Henzl 1979, Chaudron 1982), and adjustments of such are usually made by the NSs for the benefit of their non-native interlocutors.

Non-verbal behaviours do not occur in one particular type of conversation. However, their frequency may increase in conversations when there are NNSs present, as they can serve as an aid to the NNSs who are less proficient in their target language or to the NSs who use them as a supplement in an attempt to put their message across to the less proficient interlocutors.

CHAPTER 5
THE TEACHABILITY OF STRATEGIES[5]

As the study focuses on the teaching of strategies to L2 learners, the following sections will consider the teachability of strategies on learning and communication which involves both speaking (production) and listening (reception).

5.1 On Learning

Extensive research[6] (e.g. Raugh and Atkinson 1975, Weinstein 1978, Pressley, Levin, Hall, Miller and Berry 1980, Dansereau 1985) has been done on L1 reading and L2 vocabulary. However, the effectiveness of strategy training, especially in certain areas such as listening, still has to be further investigated to be more convincing. It is important to note that the characteristics of strategies in both learning and communication can be cognitive, e.g. elaboration, and metacognitive, e.g. monitoring, or linguistic, e.g. identification of discourse markers. Thus, strategy training needs to take these three characteristics into account in order to be effective. However, the training of strategies of a linguistic nature may not be as difficult as the training of those of a cognitive nature; as Rubin (1987) pointed out, in the classroom learning situation, teachers are not able to follow the learning path of each individual student because much of it may not be accessible. In the area of learner training, Rubin suggested that the best thing a language teacher can do is to teach their students how to take control of their own learning process by developing effective strategies of learning. Once students are trained to use the strategies which work best for them, they can evaluate their own learning as they become more capable of approaching any learning activities and they could have

more control of their own learning even outside the classroom environment (Rubin 1987). Rubin's approach to strategy training is echoed by Ellis and Sinclair (1989), who put forward a strategy instruction model, involving three phases:

1. Introduce learners to the language learning process through discussions with the teacher, distribute questionnaires to find out learners' learning approach, analyse their language learning needs and investigate the availability of learning resources outside the language classroom.
2. Provide explicit instruction and direct practice on learning strategies for specific skills.
3. Learners take charge of their learning through activities that help them identify resources and plan realistically for continued language study as part of their overall schedule.

The three phases of this strategy instruction model introduced by Ellis and Sinclair have explained the role of the language teacher as well as that of a learner in the strategy instruction classroom. Moreover, as Wenden (1991) pointed out, if the learners become more efficient at learning and using their L2, they may be more capable of learning autonomously as well. Weinstein and Mayer (1986) suggested that there are two distinct teaching goals that teachers should have in mind in the classroom. These are goals concerning the learning products, i.e. teaching what to learn, and goals concerning the learning processes, i.e. teaching how to learn. Language teachers, in order to be successful in doing their job, should realise that they must constantly make modifications to their teaching methods, strategies and materials to match the needs of their students (Tarone and Yule 1989). Weinstein

and Mayer (1986) pointed out that the outcome of a student's learning depends both on what the teacher presents and on how a student processes the information presented. Thus, we could see the importance of the teaching—learning process, since the specific teaching strategies and methods, which are assumed to be compatible with the learners' needs, together with the learners' strategies, can influence learners' outcome and performance in language learning. Weinstein and Mayer (1986: 316) illustrated this process and the elements it contains in the figure below:

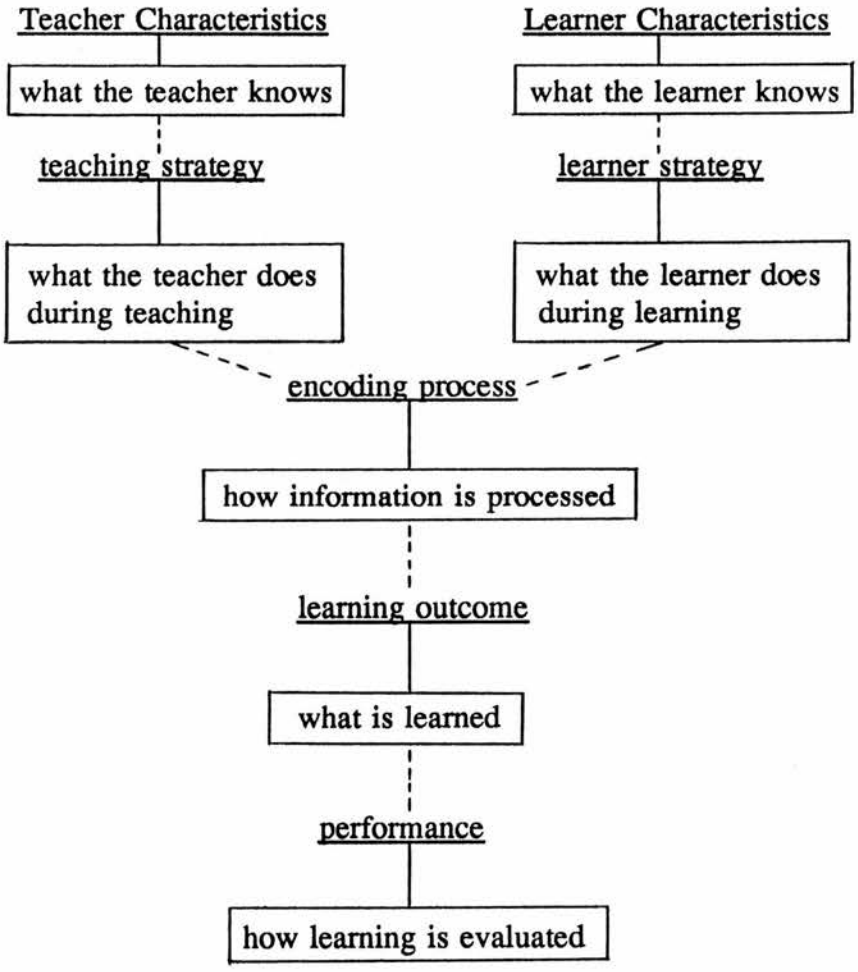

Figure 9: The teaching-learning process

Though Weinstein and Mayer did not relate the teaching strategies to the learning strategies in the process, it is reasonable to suggest that the strategies used by the teacher can affect the learning strategies employed, which may eventually affect the learning product. In other words, how the teacher presents the materials can influence the active organisation or predictions of the learner to the presented materials; a congruity between teaching and learning strategies should be maintained to increase the chances of effective learning.

As has been mentioned earlier, learning strategies may be classified as being **knowledge-based**, i.e. those strategies that may include various grammatical or vocabulary exercises undertaken by students and **control-based**, i.e. those strategies that may lead to increasing fluency via specific forms of practice (Bialystok 1985). Thus, different forms of instruction may be differentially effective in promoting either knowledge or control in students. Furthermore, materials, lessons or programmes that involve different skill components of language proficiency, e.g. grammar, speaking, etc., may be designed to develop different competencies in a student and various strategies of teaching may be employed so as to help students to achieve fluency and use of the particular language system. Before deciding which strategies should be taken, a language teacher should first find out if the students have sufficient analysed knowledge of the forms to perform in the tasks given, otherwise there may be little congruity with the learners' strategies, and failures on both teacher's and student's part may then take place. When a teacher tries to employ particular strategies on the basis of the tasks involved, he should not assume that the students possess particular levels of skill in certain

linguistic areas, as they may not have sufficient basic competence to benefit from the approach of the teacher (Bialystok 1985).

Hosenfeld (1979) suggested that a language teacher should first identify the students' learning strategies so that he can adjust his instructions accordingly; the identification of strategies used by good language learners enables a language teacher to make such strategies available to less able students, in order to assist them to learn their L2 more effectively. However, Hosenfeld's suggested teaching approach, like Rubin's (1987), may be too learner-centred and may be applicable to learners at advanced level of the language rather than beginners.

Wenden (1986b) proposed that the teacher needs to be aware of students' explicit beliefs about how they should learn a second language and other personal factors, since these elements may influence what learners actually did to assist themselves to learn. They may also provide teachers with individual views on second language methodologies which can help teachers to a better understanding of students' difficulties of learning. Moreover, these beliefs may explain the overt and hidden resistance of some students to certain language learning activities organised to facilitate learning. This knowledge of personal beliefs and characteristics may be translated into teaching strategies which will allow students to approach their L2 learning in a skilful and autonomous way (Wenden 1987b). However, the feasibility of such an approach may be impeded by the large number of students in a classroom, which is quite a common phenomenon in the schools in countries like those in the Far East.

Besides the above factors that may assist a language teacher to decide on which strategies they may use in helping students to learn, teachers may guide students to discover the regularities of the L2 by raising their consciousness to specify aspects of their target language, though it is always the students themselves, whether intuitively or consciously or somewhere between the two, who discover such regularities in their L2 (Sharwood-Smith 1981). Nonetheless, the teaching approach that has been taken by the experiment of the study is based on this principle of consciousness raising. Rubin and Henze (1981) found that consciousness raising about learners' strategies helped a learner to focus on his learning. Rubin (1987) also suggested that making learning conscious can lead learners to learn better. As not all learners approach the learning task through an intuitive, subconscious process, their attention, thus, has to be drawn to the point in question; explanation by the teacher is always necessary since explanation is thought to be a short-cut to convey a rule or any other kind of information about the target language to the students. However, learning via explicit knowledge, according to Sharwood-Smith (1981), may not be successful in young language learners since their level of intellectual maturity may not have reached the point that they may benefit from such approach.

Language learning research done on monolingual children (e.g. Flavell, Friedrichs and Hoyt 1970, Appel, Cooper,McCarrell, Sims-Knight, Yussen and Flavell 1972, Weinstein 1982) showed that learning strategies can be taught but their effect was found to increase with age and older children tended to be better able to use learning strategies appropriate for certain goals (Appel et al 1972).

Other studies (e.g. Mayer and Cook 1980) also showed that some strategies, e.g. rehearsal or shadowing strategies, are effective for basic learning tasks but may be less so in some complex learning tasks.

O'Malley (1987) did a study on the effects of training in the use of learning strategies in L2. The subjects involved in the study were high school students with an intermediate level in English proficiency enrolled in ESL classes. They were assigned into one of three groups each with an average of 8-10 students. The first group was a 'metacognitive' group, which received training in using one metacognitive strategy in each language learning task, (i.e. 'self-evaluation' in vocabulary, 'selective attention' in listening comprehension and 'functional planning' in speaking); one or two cognitive strategies, (i.e. grouping or imagery in vocabulary and note-taking in listening); and a social-affective strategy, (i.e. cooperation in listening and speaking). The second group was a 'cognitive group', which received training in the same cognitive and social-affective strategies but received no metacognitive strategy training. Lastly, there was a control group, which received the simple instruction to work on the language learning tasks using whatever strategies they usually employed; however, they were given instruction in reading strategies on content not related to the study, to make sure that they benefited from participation.

The training sessions took place daily for 50 minutes for eight days over a two-week period. A pre-test and a post-test were given in each language skill before and after the training sessions. The vocabulary tests contained multiple-choice tests

for recognition and fill-in-the-blanks tests for recall items; the listening tests were all recognition items. For the speaking tests, students were given the choice of tape recording a two - minute speech on one of three topics: a personal experience, their own culture or an academic subject.

A drawback to this study is that O'Malley provides no detailed description of exactly how the students were trained to use the strategies that were the focus of his study and what materials were used during the training. Moreover, despite the intensiveness of the training, it is arguable that learners were asked to do too much in such a short period of time; this may account for the fact that the statistical results of the vocabulary training failed to reach significance. However, O'Malley felt able to claim that the learning strategies had been shown to be effective in improving initial learning. Moreover, strategies may fail to help to improve performance due to the difficulty of the task involved and the explicitness of directions to perform the strategies. Transfer of strategies to new tasks may require continuous prompts and more structured directions until the strategies become autonomous.

5.2 On Communication

In their seminal paper, Canale and Swain (1980) divided communicative competence into grammatical, sociolinguistic and strategic elements. Strategic competence is made up of communication strategies with both verbal and nonverbal aspects. Although there is an increasing welcome for the 'communicative approach' to the teaching of second and foreign languages in most parts of the

world, the training of strategic competence has been neglected, especially in overcrowded classroom situations and in some Far East countries such as China, Hong Kong or Taiwan where the target language is seldom spoken outside the classroom. Tarone and Yule (1989) found that there are very few teaching materials available at the moment which can help language learners to develop the ability to employ appropriate communication strategies when problems arise in the process of transmitting information. They suggested that a language teacher should provide the learners with actual instruction in using the strategies and to give them opportunities to practise strategy use. However, in those materials that do attempt to teach strategic competence, learners are often instructed to use certain strategies without being informed as to why such strategies are employed or what their significance is in certain communicative situations. Wenden (1986c) called this kind of strategy training approach 'blind training', since the approach emphasises learning 'something' rather than on learning to learn. For example, note-taking in some listening activities is so geared towards a particular exercise that it fails to provide learners with opportunities to realise the fact that this is a strategy which they can utilize on their own in other contexts. Brown, Bransford, Ferrara and Campione (1983) showed that although blind training often results in improved performance of the task to which it is oriented, learners do not show signs of using the trained strategy after training. Their problem, according to Wenden (1986c), is that they cannot identify similar communicative situations in which it can be employed.

Nonetheless, there is now some evidence that strategic competence can be

fostered in classroom by providing activities that promote the use of communication strategies in order to help learners in performing communicative acts successfully. Such classroom activities, as Dornyei and Thurrell (1991) pointed out, provide language learners with a sense of security in their target language so they can feel more confident in handling difficulties. Moreover, opportunities for the practice of strategy use should also be provided so as to increase learners' ability or select appropriate communication strategy when there are problems or breakdowns in the communication process. In situations where learners can practise with native speakers of the target language. For example, if the learner is in the country where the target language is spoken, the classroom activities can serve as a supportive or back-up practice. However, in situations where few language teachers are native speakers of the target language and opportunities to practise with native speakers are scarce, a more focused and explicit approach is necessary (Tarone and Yule 1989). In other words, communication strategies must be taught on the basis of explicitness of purpose. Wenden (1986c) termed training of this kind 'informed training'; learners under this 'informed training' approach should be instructed in the need for certain strategies and their anticipated effects.

Research into the teachability of strategic competence is still limited. Moreover, as pointed out by Yule and Tarone (forthcoming), there has been a divergence of opinion between those who see teaching strategic competence as not necessary (e.g. Bialystok 1990, Kellerman 1991) and those who believe that strategic competence should be taught (e.g. Tarone 1984, Nattinger 1988, Yule and Tarone 1990). The former school of thought, which Yule and Tarone have termed

'the Cons', believe that L2 learners have gained sufficient competence from their L1 learning to employ their chosen communication strategies. Thus, what they need to be taught is not strategies but the linguistic forms which they can use to perform that competence. On the contrary, the latter, termed 'the Pros' by Yule and Tarone (forthcoming), believe that L2 performance achieved through communication strategies in classroom activity designed to promote strategy use can lead to the development of L2 competence. The Pros emphasise the importance of providing classroom activities and tasks in which different communication strategies can be introduced and fostered. Such approach, as pointed out by Yule and Tarone (forthcoming), not only promotes awareness in L2 learners and provides purposeful language practice but also a later focus on form can be achieved in terms of the learner-produced L2 linguistic performance. Yule and Tarone have identified the differences between the Pros and the Cons in terms of their methodological and pedagogical issues related to the communication strategies in L2 reference. These differences are summarised in the following table:

Table 3: Summary of differences between the Pros and the Cons

Pros	Cons
1. Profligate, liberal expansion of categories	conservative, parsimonious reduction of categories
2. Taxonomic description of observed forms in output, external and interactive	Description of underlying psychological process, internal and cognitive
3. L2 learner performance compared to TL native speaker performance; many differences found	L2 learner performance compared to their own L1 performance; many similarities found
4. Elicitation prompts are real-world objects	Elicitation prompts are abstract shapes
5. Listening partner, with a purpose, present	No listening partner present
6. L2 learners with different L1s; L1s mostly dissimilar to TL	L2 learners with same L1; L1 very similar to TL
7. Communication strategies should be taught	Communication strategies should not be taught

source: Yule and Tarone (forthcoming)

Although the teachability of strategic competence is still a controversial issue, a study by O'Malley, Chamot and Walker (1987) concluded that there are a number of strategies in language learning which can be embedded into existing teaching curricula. They can further be taught with little additional effort so as to improve the overall class performance. Dornyei and Thurrell (1991) believed that strategy training in language learning not only facilitates spontaneous improvisation skills but also linguistic creativity. Paribakht (1985) stated that strategic competence seems to develop in a learner's L1 with the individual's increasing language experience and is found to be transferable to L2 learning situations. Her study suggested that speakers' strategic competence and their proficiency level in the target language appear to be independent. If this is the case, as Dornyei and Thurrell (1991) pointed out, it is quite possible to develop strategic competence in language learners since it does not appear to be dependent on other elements that contribute to language proficiency. Rost and Ross (1991) worked with a group of

English language students studying at three different colleges in Japan. In their study, students ranged across two proficiency levels: low (elementary) and high (intermediate/advanced) based an 80-word dictation test. Rost and Ross's study was conducted in two phases. Phase One was designed to find out how the use of strategies varied by proficiency level; Phase Two investigated the teachability of strategies. Training was given to the students on three types of strategies which are:

a. General/Global questioning strategies which include: global reprise, continuation signal.
b. Referential/Local questioning strategies which include: lexical reprise, fragment reprise, lexical gap and positional reprise.
c. Inferential questioning strategies which include: hypothesis testing, forward inference.

Findings in the Phase One of their study showed that 'high' proficiency listeners used 'forward inference' and 'continuation signal'; 'low' proficiency listeners were more likely to use 'lexical reprise' and 'global reprise'. In Phase Two, it was found that strategies used by more proficient listeners could be taught to those learners who do not normally adopt the use of these strategies. Moreover, it was also found that prior training of certain questioning strategies can influence the learners' subsequent behaviour in interactions as well as their immediate comprehension of the text. Thus, Rost and Ross concluded that certain listening strategies for certain tasks, in fact, can be taught to learners of all proficiency levels. They further suggested that listening strategies can be described, explained and readily adopted. As Cook (1991) pointed out that the teaching of strategies can

open up options for the students who may not be aware of the availability of the choice of strategies which may affect their learning.

Further, from the viewpoint of strategic competence, language teachers should help learners to increase their metacommunicative awareness, so that learners know in advance what types of strategies are most suitable for specific communication situations (Faerch and Kasper 1986a). Oxford (1989) pointed out that, apart from metacognitive awareness, there are many factors which can influence one's strategy choice and use. These factors include the language being learned, duration/proficiency level, age, sex, affective variables, such as learning attitudes, motivation, learning goals and so on. Besides, personality, national origin, aptitude and language learning style of a language learner can also affect the choice of strategy type and use. For successful training in strategies of learning and communication to take place, all these factors should be taken into consideration.

In many communicative syllabuses, most of the exercises are designed to focus on strategies appropriate for describing physical or concrete entities or concepts, such as 'a knife', steps in making coffee or in assembling a pine wood shelf. In such exercises, learners may use strategies such as paraphrase or gestures to solve the problem. However, they may encounter greater difficulty when trying to convey abstract concepts and entities, such as 'beauty' or to explain more culture-specific entities, such as 'dim sum'. Faerch and Kasper (1986a) underlined the need for studies of strategies that express more abstract and culture-specific concepts and objects, and may require a different repertoire. In

studies conducted by Bongaerts and Poulisse (1989) and Kellerman, Ammerlaan, Bongaerts and Poulisse (1990) in which language learners were asked to describe unconventional abstract shapes, referential communication strategies were found to be used in the process of description. According to Kellerman et al (1990), a referential strategy involves the selection of specific properties of the referent in order for the speaker to solve his gap in his lexical repertoire and maintain his communicative intent. Such strategies are also called 'compensatory strategies' in the second language literature (e.g. Faerch and Kasper 1983a, Poulisse, Bongaerts and Kellerman 1984). When encountering such tasks, learners are found to make use of not only the perceptual features of the entities but also other properties, such as functional or locational. Thus, in strategy training, language teachers must see to it that the learners select the minimally distinctive features or properties of the referent in order to bridge the lexical gap in communication. However, this ability may be hindered by the available linguistic resources, the world knowledge of the learner and also his assessment of the linguistic and world knowledge of his listener.

Wenden (1991: 105-108) introduced some guidelines for strategy training in general, based on strategy training in cognitive development shown to be effective in non-ESL settings (e.g. Paris, Newman and McVey 1982, Brown and Palinscar 1982, Baker and Brown 1984). They are as follows:

1. Informed - The purpose of training must be made explicit and its value or significance should be brought to the learners' attention.
2. Self-regulation - Learners should be trained to be able to plan, monitor and

check their own learning, i.e. how to regulate or oversee the strategy use.

3. Contextualised - Strategy training should be carried out the context of a language skill and a skill for which it is appropriate.
4. Interactive - Teachers are expected to continue working with the learners until there is evidence to show that the learners are able to regulate their use of the strategy in training.
5. Diagnosis - The content in any strategy training should be based on the proficiency of the learners.

Based on these five guidelines, Wenden (1991: 104) came up with a strategy training action plan in the use of a cognitive strategy, inferencing. The steps of the action plan consist of the following:

1. Introduce the concept 'strategy'.
2. Determine the strategies that learners use.
3. Demonstrate and name the strategy.
4. Provide practice in classroom.
5. Explore the significance of the strategy.
6. Practise in authentic settings.
7. Evaluate the outcome of practice sessions.
8. Provide cyclical review.

Although there are other variables that may affect strategy training in classroom such as those factors mentioned above (Oxford 1989), these guidelines and action plan may provide some insights for the language teacher in the training

of strategies in general.

CHAPTER 6
TASK DESIGN FOR SPOKEN INTERACTION

The purpose of teaching interactional strategies is to develop a language learner's strategic competence, which has to do with the ability to convey the meaning of the message successfully or, as in this study, the ability of the listeners to elicit appropriate responses from their interlocutors when communication is at risk. Within this theme, communicative tasks as pieces of classwork which involve language learners in the comprehension, manipulation, production or interaction of the target language (Nunan 1989) have been constructed by task designers. In the following sections, the kinds of tasks available for such a purpose, their nature and effect on learning will be discussed.

6.1 Interactional versus Transactional

According to Richards, Platt and Weber (1987), 'information gap' tasks refer to those tasks in which information is known only to some of the participants of the tasks. They can be divided into interactional tasks and transactional tasks (although these categories may overlap, as we noted in Chapter 1). They differ in the sense that interactional tasks are primarily socially oriented, whereas transactional tasks are message-oriented (Brown and Yule 1983a).

Brown and Yule's use of 'interactional' is different from 'interactional' used in this study. The information-gap tasks - 'route-marking' - used in the study are 'interactional' in the sense that they entail two-way/reciprocal listening and take place in what Rost (1990) called a 'collaborative setting' in which the participants

have the opportunity to actually communicate, since the speaker as well as the listener have every right to contribute verbally. Interactional listening strategies on which the study focuses such as making a clarification or a confirmation request can be enacted when a communication problem arises. The skills involved in the tasks are not confined to simply listening; speaking is also involved. The participants go through the process of negotiation of meaning until a solution is thought to have been reached.

The function of these tasks is transactional as they focus on the transfer of information which is required to complete the tasks. In these 'route-marking' tasks, the listener is given a map on which he/she has to mark a route according to instructions given by the speaker. They have the same basic map but the route is drawn on the speaker's version and there are also differences between the two versions of map, e.g. differently named or unmarked buildings or places can be found in the listener's version. The obligatory nature of the information gap in these tasks compel the participants to listen and respond so as to find their way out. These tasks employed in the study will be described in more details in Chapter 7.

6.2 Two-way versus One-way

Interactional tasks include Long's (1981) 'two-way' tasks, which are referred to as 'required information exchange' tasks by Doughty and Pica (1986). In this kind of task, each of the participants holds some pieces of information which are not known to, but required by, the other participants in order to complete the task.

The task process, thus, is reciprocal. Long (1981) claimed this kind of task provides language learners with the most favourable conditions to adjust their input in order to reach mutual comprehensibility, which can in turn facilitate second language acquisition. The 'required information exchange' task includes activities such as route-marking, mentioned earlier, and 'plant the garden' in Pica and Doughty (1988). In 'plant the garden', each participant is given a board which represents the garden. The object of the task is to plant flowers of different colours and sizes in the garden according to a master plot. The master plot will be revealed when the task is completed. Each garden has a tree in the middle as the point of reference and each displays a different portion of the master plot. In other words, if all the individual gardens superimpose on each other, the master plot is formed. Each participant is required to exchange information with the others to find out which flowers are to be planted and where. As pointed out by Pica and Doughty (1988), this task requires each participant to contribute as they all possess different information regarding the location, colour and size of the flowers.

Another example of this two-way/required information exchange task is 'find the difference', mentioned earlier, in Cameron and Epling (1989), in which two participants each has a picture that has slight differences from the other. The participants are required to find out what the differences between their pictures are. Cameron and Epling suggested that 'find the difference' is a two-way interactional task that encourages co-operation and meaning negotiation. Another kind of 'required information exchange' task is 'jigsaw speaking'. In 'jigsaw speaking', each participant is given a sentence from a short paragraph. The order of the

sentences is jumbled. The participants have to memorise their own sentence and all the sentences are then collected by the teacher. The participants then have to find out from one another the correct order of the jumbled sentences in the paragraph. This activity is described in Section 7.2.2, on the first session of the training conducted in this study.

One-way tasks entail non-reciprocal listening of the type, mentioned earlier, in which no exchanging information or listener response is possible; in the classroom, this would include listening to recorded material. This kind of task takes place in, as noted in Chapter 1, a 'non-collaborative' setting (Rost 1990) which listeners cannot contribute verbally. It is different from the 'optional exchange' task referred to by Doughty and Pica (1986), since the listeners have no opportunity to respond. In Doughty and Pica's 'optional exchange' tasks, the participants can choose whether to contribute to solve the problem together with their partners. In other words, the participants are allowed to have some exchange. Decision-making and picture-drawing activities are examples of this type of 'optional exchange' task. In the decision-making activity, each participant contributes to the decision making in forms of arguments and opinions. As argued by Pica and Doughty (1985b), this kind of contribution may be helpful to arrive at some kind of consensus but not necessary in making the final decision. Further, this 'potentially interactive' activity is not designed to compel participants to negotiate for meaning and may even result in the monopoly of the interaction by more fluent participants. This is even more so in the picture-drawing activity, which one of the participants may be asked to look at a picture and then describe the picture to his/her listener

without letting the picture to be seen. The listener's job is to draw the picture to match the instruction of the speaker. As pointed out by Gass and Varonis (1985), the 'optional exchange' tasks are not exclusively one way as participants can actually have a choice of contribution. However, the information primarily flows in a single direction as the person playing the speaker has all the information. Other examples of this kind of activity include instruction giving, for example, how to assemble a trolley and so on. In these activities, again, some exchange are allowed but participants are not obliged to share information with their partners.

Optional exchange tasks are found to have some drawbacks. In this kind of task, as mentioned earlier, it has been found that the conversation may be dominated by a few more proficient language learners. The less proficient or more passive learners may either opt out of the activity by remaining silent or simply go along with the majority opinion of their group or class (Pica and Doughty 1985a, Doughty and Pica 1986). Pica (1987) used a decision-making activity as an instrument to motivate the subjects in her study to modify or restructure their social interaction and established clear disadvantages of the activity. The role relationship in the decision-making activity failed to motivate the learners (1) to clarify or confirm each other's message meaning, (2) to check their mutual comprehensibility or (3) even to take part in the activity at all. We believe the feasibility of this kind of activity in the classroom also depends on the character of the individual learner, on their motivation in learning the target language as well as on their attitude towards the kind of communicative activity; some of them, especially those who have come from a more conventional classroom learning approach, may not be used to this

kind of activity at all. This recalls the Japanese subjects in Rost and Ross (1991), mentioned earlier, who preferred to listening in a non-collaborative setting, as questioning is regarded as inattentiveness or even a challenge to their teacher in their home culture. This is true not only of Japanese students but also of students from other Asian countries such as China or Korea.

On the other hand, in a 'required information exchange' activity the students are of more or less equal status in terms of the work involved. The interactional nature of this kind of activity allows neither participant to withhold information from the other nor stay passive or taciturn. The balance of the information guarantees interaction. In this type of activity, negotiation through the use of clarification and confirmation requests or comprehension checks and so on is necessary to reach mutual understanding before a solution is found. Faerch and Kasper (1983a), as mentioned earlier, called these negotiation devices, 'cooperative strategies' as they signal the existence of a problem and elicit responses that may be of assistance to the learner. Long (1983b) suggested that problem-solving tasks of this type produce more interactional modifications, i.e. comprehension and confirmation checks, clarification requests than any other type of task. Although this type of task is designed to develop communicative effectiveness, studies by Yule (1991a and b) and Yule, Powers and Macdonald (1992) have pointed out that L2 communicative effectiveness in an information exchange task can only be enhanced when the speaker is sensitized to the needs of the listeners rather than being led to think primarily about the form of the message conveyed. Thus, according to Yule (1991b),it is necessary to provide the information givers, the

speakers, with tasks or exercises to lead them to take into account the need of those who play the role as information receivers, the listeners. In other words, a balance between the speaker's and the listener's training material is required.

However, this type of activity may be good in terms of the role relationship of the learners and the provision of a conversational topic in the classroom, but may not lead on to long term acquisition. Aston (1986) argued that more meaning negotiation does not necessarily achieve second language acquisition in the classroom. What Aston called 'trouble shooting' procedures - interactive negotiation - may result in difficult and frustrating attempts to communicate, especially in situations where both learners are NNSs of the target language. In contrast to the view of Varonis and Gass (1985), mentioned earlier, Aston argued that the unshared participant backgrounds and the interlocutor's interlanguage may lead to pedagogically undesirable consequences such as pidginization. However, this may depend on the extent of teacher's involvement and focus in the activity, i.e. to what extent and what kind of mistakes, e.g. grammatical or phonological, the teacher wants to bring to the attention of his students.

6.3 Convergent versus Divergent

Duff (1986) referred to two types of pedagogic task: 'convergent' tasks and 'divergent' tasks. Both types can be considered interactional or 'two-way' tasks as an exchange of information is necessary. Duff (1986) defined a 'convergent' task as one in which learners share a common goal, which may eventually motivate them to reach a mutually acceptable solution; a 'divergent' task is one in which learners

have different viewpoints or goals towards in relation to an issue so each one of them is expected to defend their own position by convincing their partners with as many reasons or arguments as possible. The difference between a 'convergent' task and a 'divergent' task is represented below in Figure 10.

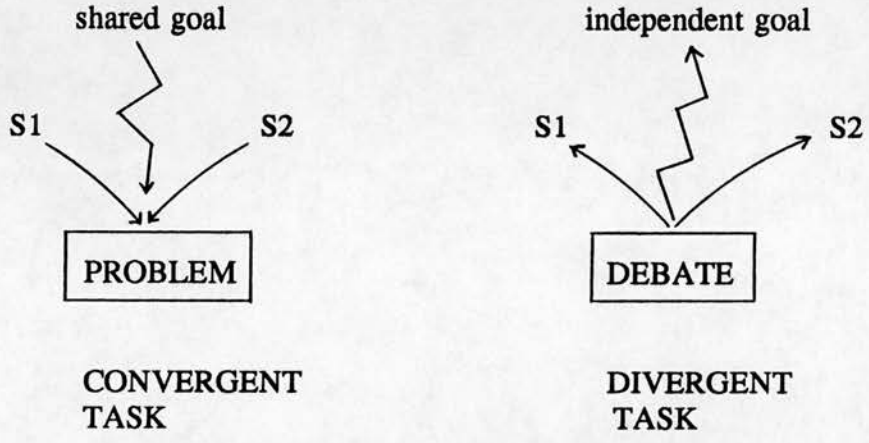

Figure 10: Difference between a 'convergent' and a 'divergent' task (from Duff 1986: 150)

Duff (1986) argued that both the 'convergent' task in her study (a problem-solving task) and the 'divergent' task (a debate) were sound tasks to be used in classroom, and that the problem-solving task in particular required learners to make use of their world knowledge as well as their previous experience, both linguistic and non-linguistic. Furthermore, Duff claimed that these two types of tasks were better than the other task types that had been used in interactional studies (e.g. Long 1981, Porter 1983, Young 1984, Doughty and Pica 1986) in the way that both problem-solving and debate could be adapted in terms of content and processes to suit the cognitive operations, interests and needs of learners of a higher level of

L2 proficiency. Duff called these two types of task 'teacherless tasks' as they were said to "allow learners to work on their own" (Duff 1986: 170), i.e. in pairs or in groups who can proceed with negotiation without the intervention of the teacher, and the requirement of teaching materials and preparation are minimal. 'Desert island' is an example of a 'convergent' task in Duff's study. In 'desert island', participants are required to put their heads together to come to an agreement as to what they should bring to a nearby desert island from the sinking ship which they are on. An example of a 'divergent' task is the debate on the advantages and disadvantages of television. The intended outcome of a 'divergent' task, thus, is not agreement.

Of these two types of task investigated by Duff, debate produced longer turns and more syntactically complex and extended discourse, whereas problem-solving generated more turn takings, C-units (which Duff defined as words, phrases or sentences that contribute to a conversation's pragmatic or semantic meaning), and questions which might result in producing more adjustments than debate. Duff concluded that the problem-solving task is more a useful instrument in terms of instruction and language practice in the second language classroom. Nonetheless, we should recall Aston's (1986) argument that a greater number of meaning negotiations does not necessarily lead to enhanced acquisition.

In my view, the concept of 'convergent task' should extend to include information gap tasks as they are all problem-solving tasks in which learners work towards a common goal or solution. Duff simply illustrated one activity of the

problem-solving task type, so it is not clear if Duff's term 'convergent task' refers solely to the specific problem-solving activity employed in her study or if any other task types would fall into the same category. In fact, Duff's two types of communicative tasks - 'convergent' and 'divergent' tasks - are umbrella terms for the various activity typologies. The relationship of these task types is represented below in Figure 11.

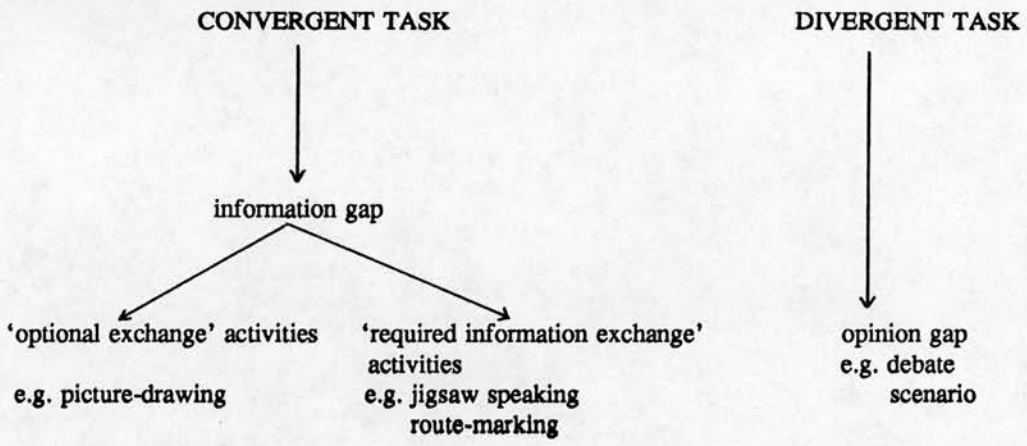

Figure 11: Types of convergent and divergent tasks

'Scenario' shown in Figure 11 is another activity of the divergent type. Di Pietro (1987: 41) defined 'scenario' as "a strategic interplay of roles functioning to fulfil personal agendas within a shared context". Participants in a scenario are assigned a role in a situation in which each participant has a different personal goal and where each tries to get their own way. Bygate (1987) suggested that tasks requiring interaction management skills give the language learners an opportunity to experience how to respond under social pressure. As Lynch and Anderson (1992) pointed out, experience of this kind is often missing from the language

classroom.

6.4 Summary

The different task types discussed in this chapter are believed to be useful in different ways as far as strategic teaching is concerned. For example, one-way activities can be used in the training of metacognitive learning strategies such as selective attention, problem identification as well as cognitive strategies such as inferencing and elaboration. However, the tasks used for the training of interactional listening strategies in this study are limited to 'required information exchange' activities. When designing or choosing a communicative language task, it is necessary to consider the extent of the focus on linguistic form (Nunan 1989). Some language task designers (e.g. Prabhu 1987) have argued that the focus on individual linguistic components is not essential, as the involvement in the task itself is all that is necessary to develop competence in the target language. This may be true in some linguistic environments where the target language is widely spoken, for example, a learner of English language studying in the U.K.. However, in countries such as Taiwan, China or Japan, and it is also true in Hong Kong where the classroom is the sole source of input in the target language, form-focused tasks are as important as meaning-focused task, especially for lower level language learners. Thus, a linguistic focus should be integrated into task design (Rutherford 1987). In fact, the form-focused approach is better employed as a support to the meaning-focused approach in a task as both bottom-up and top-down processing are essential to language comprehension as well as production.

As strategic teaching is a relatively recent teaching approach in the classroom, teachers may not be sure of the role expected of them. O'Malley and Chamot (1990) pointed out that teachers may need to be convinced that strategy training is important and they themselves may even require training in order to teach strategies. This point will be taken up in Chapter 9. According to Breen and Candlin (1980), in the communicative classroom, the teacher has three major roles to play. These roles are:

(1) as a facilitator of the communication process.

(2) as a participant.

(3) as an observer and learner.

The adoption of these three roles by the teachers in the communicative classroom enables learners to play a much more active part, as teachers are no longer the pivot in the classroom. Teachers should be able to record and analyse interactions or take down the mistakes that their students have made during the interactional activities. They can then bring these problems up after the activity to discuss with the students and ask for their opinion. This approach may be feasible in small size classes but may not work out in classrooms of about 20 students or even more. The large number of students in a classroom not only affects the physical arrangement in these kinds of interactional tasks but also may not be within the control of the teacher. Thus, the large size of a language class is an obstacle to the feasibility of these interactional tasks. However, for the purpose of the training of interactional listening strategies, the 'required information exchange' tasks with a balanced distribution of information seem to be the most suitable task

type as listeners are given the right or responsibility to respond.

CHAPTER 7
INTERACTIONAL LISTENING STRATEGIES: A PRACTICAL EXPERIMENT

7.1 Research Questions

Strategy training has been shown to be effective in research done mostly in L1 and focused on learning (e.g. Carrier and Titus 1981, Jones and Hall 1982, Weinstein 1982). Only a few research studies (e.g. O'Malley 1987, O'Malley et al 1989, Rost and Ross 1991) have investigated strategy training with ESL students and with a specific focus on listening. In addition, most of these studies have concentrated on one-way listening, i.e. listening in which the participants have no opportunity to interact and to receive feedback from the speakers. However, as has been mentioned earlier, listening is not necessarily one-way, especially in conversational situations. In these interactional activities, listening becomes an active skill as the listener is obliged to elicit responses from the speaker to obtain more information or to keep the conversation going. Further research is therefore necessary in order to look into the feasibility of strategy training in interactional activities in L2 classroom to help the learners to achieve better communication. The rest of this thesis reports a study in interactional listening strategy training. It is designed to address three questions:

1. whether strategy-focused teaching has an effect on learners' use of interactional listening strategies;
2. whether strategy-focused teaching leads to more efficient listening performances by learners;
3. whether the individual listener's use of interactional strategies occurs as a

conscious result of instruction.

These questions were formed on the basis that in interactional listening, the learner faces not only the difficulty of trying to make sense of the incoming aural message but also formulating questions to appeal to their partners for help in cases where there is a perception or comprehension problem. If the learner has undergone training in interactional listening strategies, the availability of the strategies could ease his mental burden in that he does not have to seek expressions for the listener's queries he wishes to raise. The use of interactional listening strategies provides the learner with the opportunity to hear part of the message repeated or clarified and thus, may help the learners to become more efficient listeners. Though the interactional listening strategies may eventually develop through practice, with explicit instruction in strategy training, a learner may more quickly realise the value of strategy use. Thus, strategy-focused teaching perhaps can be used as a short-cut in developing the use of interactional listening strategies, which in turn, would enhance listening.

The first two questions will be assessed in quantitative terms using performance data from a convergent communication task (cf. Chapter 6), collected in the manner described in section 7.2. The third question will be the subject of qualitative analysis of retrospective L1 interviews.

More specifically, the first question on learners' use of interactional listening strategies will be investigated by comparing the frequency of use of certain

negotiation features (e.g. clarification requests and confirmation requests) in listeners' task performances. It is expected that mean group scores will show that learners who have received strategy-focused instruction will make significantly more frequent use of those negotiation features than learners who have received another form of conversational instruction (to be described in section 7.2).

The second question relates to the efficiency of listening and will be studied by comparing the time on task taken by learners from the two different instruction conditions. We expect that, as a group, subjects who have received strategy-focused instruction will take significantly a shorter time to reach a successful completion of the tasks than learners who have received the other form of instruction.

The third question, on the extent to which learners' use of interactional listening strategies is a conscious application of course experience, will be explored through transcript analysis of retrospective L1 interviews with listeners in a follow-up group (for details, see section 7.2). In the interviews, to be conducted in the subjects' first language, they will be asked to recall, with the aid of video-recordings of their task performances, their thoughts at points in the interaction where there is evidence that they experienced comprehension problems and used an interactional strategy. In this way we hope to reveal the extent to which listeners consciously applied such strategies and may consciously relate such application to classroom instruction.

The timing of the collection of both quantitative and qualitative data (as set

out below) is designed to allow us to monitor and assess changes in performance and awareness over a 3-month period following instruction.

7.2 Method

7.2.1 The Study

The study was constructed to compare two teaching approaches in speaking. It involved using two experimental groups, one was called the Correction Group (CG) with the teaching focus on pronunciation practice. The other one was called the Guidance Group (GG) with the teaching focus on the use of interactional listening strategies. Both groups received training of twelve hours in a speaking course. The same dictation test as the pre-treatment one was given at the end of the training to establish any differences in the listening ability of the two groups. The subjects called the Audio Pairs (i.e. those who were not selected for later follow-up work), were also asked to do Test Task (1), while the Video Pairs selected from each of the four classes for later purpose of qualitative analysis were to come back the following day to do the task.

Test Task (2) was administered after a week to establish any remaining effect of the training. After the completion of the two tasks, the first retrospection interview was conducted with each individual listener of the Video Pairs. After three months, Test Task (3) was administered and the second retrospection interview was carried out some time after the completion of the third task (see Figure 12 for the design of the study).

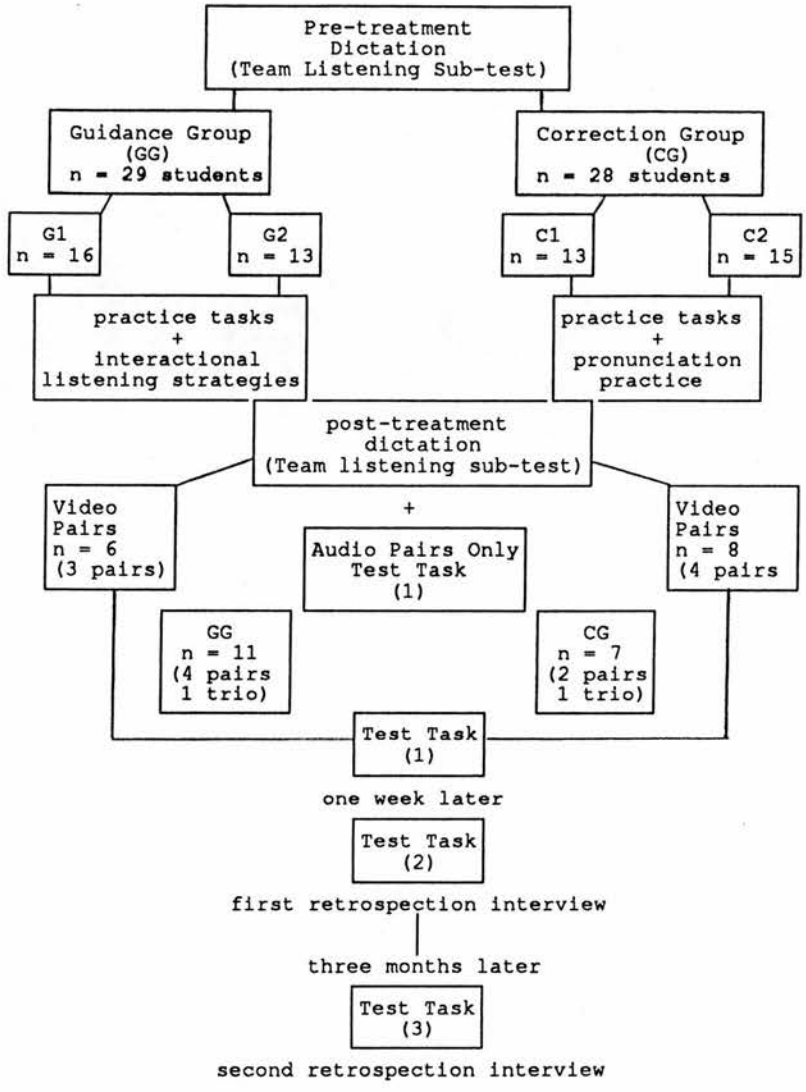

Figure 12: Design of the Study

There was a 3-month interval between Test Task (2) and Test Task (3). The rationale behind this was to find out if the GG subjects were able to use the interactional strategies raised in the course more effectively after three months than CG and the CG subjects were more aware of their pronunciation problems than GG. It could also eliminate the result of the study effect which might influence performance on Test Task (2). The retrospection interviews were to find out what

went on in the subjects' minds during the time they were doing their test tasks and if they were aware of their use of interactional strategies or of problems caused by pronunciation accuracy.

7.2.1.1 Subjects

The subjects for the study were 57 international graduate students at the University of Edinburgh. They were enrollees in a speaking course offered at the Institute for Applied Language Studies (IALS) of the University of Edinburgh in November 1991. All of the subjects had undertaken the University's Test of English at Matriculation (TEAM), comprising sections on vocabulary, listening, reading and essay writing, and had decided to enrol for the speaking course on the basis of relatively low listening scores.

The subjects were of mixed ability in listening as measured by the TEAM listening sub-test. Their scores ranged from 16 to 82. The listening sub-test is a dictation based on a pre-recorded ten-sentence paragraph (see Appendix II). The subjects attended a 12-hour training course in speaking using identical training material. They were divided into two experimental groups, designed to show no significant differences between listening ability: the Correction Group (CG) with 28 students; and the Guidance Group (GG) with 29 students. Each group was sub-divided into two classes, making a total of four teaching classes (G1, G2 of GG; C1, C2 of CG) with 16 and 13 students in G1 and G2; 13 and 15 students in C1 and C2, respectively.) From each class it was intended that two pairs of subjects called the Video Pairs would be selected for follow-up work of a

qualitative nature. The selection of the Video Pairs was not meant to represent the whole pool of learners.

Each Video Pair was to include one Chinese-speaking learner so as to allow follow-up interviews to be conducted in L1 since the researcher is a Cantonese speaker and understands Mandarin. However, as the course was not compulsory, a number of the Chinese-speaking students did not attend the first day of training. As the next largest group represented on the course was Italian students, two of them were asked to be in the Video Pairs. Even with this arrangement, it was only possible to establish three pairs from GG to include either Chinese or Italian students, and in order to maintain as much homogeneity as possible. GG, thus, had three pairs and CG had four pairs of subjects. The Video Pairs were composed of the following arrangement (Figure 13).

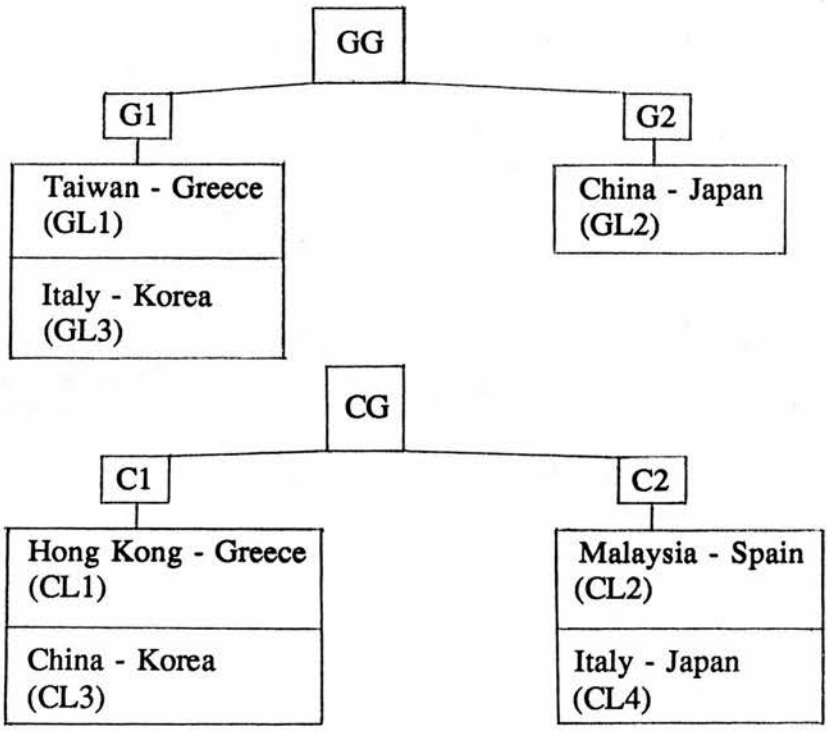

Figure 13: Arrangement of the Video Pairs

The Chinese listeners in the Video Pairs were of different nationalities. The listeners from Taiwan and China are Mandarin speakers. The subject from Malaysia is a Mandarin native but speaks some Cantonese, whereas the subject from Hong Kong speaks only Cantonese.

7.2.2 Training

7.2.2.1 Procedures

The 12-hour training was divided into eight sessions of 90 minutes on two consecutive Saturdays. To minimize the possible teacher effect, the four instructors were asked to take turns in teaching each class twice (see Table 4).

Table 4: Teaching arrangement

Classes	C1	C2	G1	G2	Sessions
TEACHERS	A	D	C	B	one, five
	B	A	D	C	two, six
	C	B	A	D	three, seven
	D	C	B	A	four, eight

Before the training, the instructors were briefed on the procedures and the teaching approaches in the sessions, especially the first session. Their subsequent classes were audiotaped, in order to monitor their performance, since it would be important to ensure that they did not use the "wrong approach" in the classes, i.e. they were not to teach the interactional listening strategies in a Correction class or focus on pronunciation accuracy in a Guidance class.

The first training session was of particular importance since it helped to raise the subjects' awareness of strategy use or pronunciation problems and to build up their knowledge of these areas (see Appendix III for the teaching procedures taken in the first training session and in the other sessions). Each class worked on a 'jigsaw speaking' activity in which the teacher gave each person in the group a printed sentence from a paragraph (see Appendix IV). Each group member had to memorise their own sentence and the sentences were then collected in. The participants were not allowed to write anything down. Their task was to work out with the others in their group the correct order of the jumbled sentences. The

purpose of this activity was to familiarise the subjects with the activity type and to make them aware of the kind of communication problems it raises. The activity itself also served as a lead-in to what followed.

After completing the 'jigsaw speaking' activity, the students were shown a videotaped performance by a previous group of IALS students of a variation on the same task. In the video they watched, the activity had comprised two parts: the first part involved the re-ordering of the jumbled sentences (Organisation); in the second part of the video, each participant was required to dictate their sentence in turn to the others (Dictation). Due to time constraints, both Organisation and Dictation sequences were played for five minutes each. The students were at the same time issued with an accompanying worksheet (see Appendices V and VI). The CG received a worksheet on pronunciation problems illustrated by the participants in the video; the GG had worksheets of examples of strategy use where comprehension or listening problems arose. Before the video was played, the teachers explained the function and meaning of terms such as clarification and confirmation on the GG worksheet, or demonstrated the sounds such as /s/ or /ʃ/ on the CG worksheet. The students worked on their worksheets while the video was playing. The video was played a second time so the students could complete anything they had missed in the first play through. The teachers then checked and discussed answers with the students.

After the checking of answers, the students were given a checklist according to their group classification (see Appendices VII and VIII). The checklist contained

examples of interactional strategies or pronunciation problems illustrated in the video. The teachers went through and discussed the checklists with the students and at the same time, asked them for more examples or alternatives they could think of related to their own experience.

In sessions 2 - 7, the students were all paired up to do the practice tasks in Study Speaking (Lynch and Anderson 1992). The instructors went round to each pair, took note of their mistakes and then gave feedback to the students after each task, orientated towards either strategy use or pronunciation accuracy.

In the final session, the students were asked to repeat the TEAM listening sub-test. This was to establish any differences in improvements in the students' listening ability in general between the original TEAM test and the end of the training. After the listening test, pairs of subjects were asked to go to an adjoining room to do Test Task (1) - Tai Tu. These will be referred to here as the Audio Pairs, as their performance was audiotaped, while the teacher went on with the rest of the class to do a different practice task. Two 'pairs' had three participants, as there was an odd number of students in two of the classes. As a result, there were two listeners to one speaker in these pairs. No time limit was imposed on the Audio Pairs' performance; they could take as long as they wanted.

For logistical reasons, the Video Pairs chosen from the four classes were asked to come back the following day to perform the Tai Tu Test Task. Their performance was videotaped. Each Video Pair was asked to go into a classroom

where an OHP and a video camera were set up. The speaker was asked to sit behind a screen; the listener sat beside the OHP so he/she could draw the route on a transparency map. The video camera was directed at the projection of the map as the listener worked on it. This kind of information task provides opportunities to find out how listeners are required to elicit responses from speakers when information is missing or when communication is at conflict. The particular video recording procedure was designed to allow subsequent analysis of the listener's visible and audible doubts and hesitations in the process of completing the task.

The first test task, Tai Tu, together with the two subsequent test tasks, Marathon and Silver Island, are all information tasks which require the speaker to describe a route to the listener. The two partners have similar maps; on the speaker's map, a route is marked and the speaker is instructed to describe the marked route or the places visited clearly enough to enable the listener to draw the route on his/her own map. Before the partners began the task, they were told that the two maps were different.

Each of the test tasks had a number of intended referential problems built into it. Although these problems differed in detail, they had a very similar pattern in each test task. Details of these will be discussed in sections 7.2.2.3 and 7.2.3.2. The three test tasks were administered in ascending order of intended difficulty.

The nature of the three test tasks was based on five grading factors described in Anderson and Lynch (1988: 109-110). These five types of grading factors were:

(a) Referring expressions.

(b) Type of map.

(c) Starting points and end points.

(d) Completeness of map.

(e) Number of map features.

These five types of grading built into the three test tasks are represented below in Table 5.

Table 5: Grading in the three test tasks
(adapted from Anderson and Lynch 1988: 110)

Test Task	Referring Expressions	Type of Map	Start/ End Given?	Completeness of Map	Number of Map Features
Tai Tu	identical 3 synonymous 1 compatible 2	gridiron; roads marked	yes	full	6
Marathon	blank 2 synonymous 4 identical 3	irregular paths marked	no	full	9
Silver Island	blank 4 compatible 1 identical 6 contradictory 2 synonymous 1	natural; landmarks	no	1 missing	14

7.2.2.2 Materials

The training material taken from Study Speaking comprised information

tasks which require 'pen and paper' solutions, and scenarios, in which two people have different personal goals and each tries to convince the other. One unit (consisting of both the information task and scenario) was used in each 90-minute session, except in the first session which was conducted differently from the others, as described above.

7.2.2.3 Test Task (1)

The first task is based on a map showing a grid of city streets and buildings in a city called Tai Tu. A route to visit six locations was marked on the speakers's (see Appendix IX for both the speaker's and the listener's versions of the Tai Tu map). The six referential problems built into Tai Tu via the two different versions of map are listed below in Table 6.

Table 6: Built-in referential problems in Tai Tu

Speaker's	Listener's
pagoda	pagoda
palace	palace
monument	statue
fish market	market
museum	museum
silk mill	factory

An example below is taken from Anderson and Lynch (1988: 113) to illustrate the sort of problem and negotiation that task of this kind is intended to give rise to:

Tape: ...the silk mill + that's along Progress Street and turn right
Ss: Stop.
F: Where is silk mill?
B: Silk factory?
A: Silk factory?
B: Maybe the factory - at the left side - in the middle.
F: Go back?
A: Oh no, she told to turn - they turn the first on the right
S: On the right, yeah.
C: The right?
A: Yeah, so if you come...
S: But this factory is on the left - the factory.
A: No, when you come back from the museum, it's the first on the right.
F: Go back?
J: They turn back?
A: I think they return and turn, but I'm not sure.
F: Why don't we ask a question?
F: Is it the factory on Progress Street?

The students in the example above are working in small groups instead of in pairs. They are listening to the tape with instructions on how to draw the route in Tai Tu. Whenever they have problems, they are encouraged to stop the tape. They are expected to negotiate with one another and work collaboratively to solve the referential problems built into the task for this purpose.

7.2.3 Follow-up

7.2.3.1 Procedures

After one week, the Video Pairs performed their second test task - Marathon (see Appendix X for both versions). The procedure was identical and the materials were similar. When it finished, the listeners in each pair were asked to attend an

interview concerning their performance of the first two test tasks, Tai Tu and Marathon.

After three months, the Video Pairs performed their final test task - Silver Island - with an identical procedure and similar materials to those in Tai Tu and Marathon (see Appendix XI for both versions of Silver Island). For all three tasks, the subjects could take as much time as they required. A final retrospection interview was held shortly after the completion of the third and final test task.

7.2.3.2 Materials for Test Tasks (2) and (3)

The second test task - Marathon - involves a map showing a park where a marathon run was to take place. The third test task - Silver Island - is based on a map showing how to get to a mine on the Island. The paths in the marathon map are marked which makes Marathon easier than Silver Island, on which there are no marked paths. As in Tai Tu, referential problems are built into these two test tasks. The intended problems of second and third tasks are given below in Tables 7 and 8.

Table 7: Built-in referential problems in Marathon

Speaker's	Listener's
tennis courts	tennis courts
nursery	marked but not labelled
bowling green	park club
swimming baths	pool
cafe	snacks
lake	lake
pool (round)	marked but not labelled
playground	kid's corner
football pitch (marked but not labelled)	football pitch (marked but not labelled)

Table 8: Built-in referential problems in Silver Island

Speaker's	Listener's
Holy Mountain	marked but not labelled
Surf Island	marked but not labelled
flooded area	desert
Fog Mountains	volcanoes
dunes	sand dunes
swamps	marked but not labelled
rapids	marked but not labelled
river (1)	river
village (1)	village
lake (small)	lake
lake (big)	missing
village (2)	village
river (2)	river
village (3)	village

7.2.3.3 Retrospection Interviews

In the retrospection interviews, the 'listener' from each Video Pair was interviewed in their first language, i.e. Chinese (Mandarin or Cantonese) or Italian. An interpreter was present throughout the interviews to help in asking questions and interpreting replies and opinions. The interviewees first watched the video recordings of their work on the test tasks. They were also asked to refer to their

task transparencies and were allowed to see the video in their entirety before the interview began. The interviews were divided into two parts with the first part on the subject's task performance and the second part on their perception of the training course as a whole and their language learning problems in general. The first part of the interview was conducted with the video playing the test task while questions were asked. The questions were based on a questionnaire, completed by the researcher (see Appendix XII). Those in the first part of the questionnaire included simple prompt questions such as "Could you please tell me why you stopped/hesitated here?" at points in the recording where there was a visible hesitation, or general questions such as "What problem did you have when you were trying to get here?" at places where problem points were built in. The second half of the questionnaire dealt with the subject's general problems in learning the target language and their opinion of, or suggestions for, the training they had undertaken. Both interviews were audiotaped.

7.2.3.4 Subsequent Analysis

The length of the time the subject pairs had taken to complete the test tasks, the number of utterances produced by the listeners and the information supplied by the speakers were used as measurements of the group and individual performance in the quantitative analysis. Fragmentary utterances such as "Just...", "So now..." or "Between playground and..." and any utterance that did not interfere with or affect the negotiation such as "Thank you" or "Let me see" were not counted. The information supplied by the speakers was divided into two types: essential and supplementary information. 'Essential information' refers to the information that

was necessary to complete the route; 'supplementary information' refers to the information that the speaker drew on in order to assist their negotiation when reference to essential information proved insufficient. A native speaker of English was asked to provide the baseline essential information; whereas the supplementary information was gathered from the reference points available on the maps. Each piece of information used to achieve reference from one point/turn to another point/turn was given one point. Repetition of the information is not counted. The total information points of Tai Tu is 59, Marathon is 63 and Silver Island is 55.

The group means for the time taken to complete the test tasks, the number of listener's utterances and the information supplied by the speaker were calculated for in all the three test tasks performed by the Video Pairs and for the first test task performed by the Audio Pairs. Moreover, each group's and each individual subject's means for the different categories of the utterances were also calculated. T-tests were employed subsequently to find out if any differences between these group means and individual means were significant. The quantitative data were then linked with the qualitative analysis of the Video Pairs' retrospection interviews.

In order to obtain a second opinion on the categorisation of the different utterances produced by the listeners, three raters, A, B and C, were asked to categorise the utterances in the system set up by the researcher. The compilation of the system is partly based on the interactional listening strategies taught in the course and partly on the nature of the utterances produced by the listeners. The raters were all experienced ESL teachers. Each rater was given four sets of

transcripts of Tai Tu performances. The subjects in each set were the first pair in each group to take the Test Task, i.e. the first pairs in GG and CG of the Audio Pairs and the first pairs in GG and CG of the Video Pairs. Before the rating, the researcher had a meeting with the four raters in which the categories in the system were explained and discussed (see Appendix XIII for explanation on the different categories of the utterances). A small trial using one of the transcripts had been carried out beforehand and any differences in opinion were discussed and agreed at the meeting before the raters worked on the four sets. Each rater categorised each utterance produced by the listener, and the total number of categorisations which matched the researcher's were noted. The percentage of the total number of these matching categories in the total number of the utterances produced by each of the four subject listeners was then calculated. Table 9 below displays the results of the inter-rater reliability.

Table 9: Inter-rater reliability of the different categories of the utterances

RATERS		
A	B	C
79.13%	91.33%	91.33%

The results in Table 9 suggest that the judgements of raters B and C showed a higher degree of match with the researcher's than did rater A. Nevertheless, the overall mean reliability (87.26%) is still high enough to justify confidence in the system.

CHAPTER 8
RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

8.1 Quantitative Analysis across Groups

8.1.1 TEAM Listening Test

Before the students enrolled in the speaking course, they were required to take a pre-course TEAM listening test as described in section 7.2.1.1. 22.8% of the total number of subjects scored below 40, 75.4% scored 40-79 and 1.8% scored 80-100 on TEAM. They were assigned to either one of the groups, i.e. GG or CG, on the basis of their pre-course TEAM listening scores so as to make four classes of comparable mixed ability in listening.

Each of the two groups was divided into two classes, i.e. GG was divided into G1 and G2; CG was divided into C1 and C2. The means of the four classes in the two groups were calculated. A statistical test of differences between means (t-test) was used to identify any significant difference between the means of the two classes in the same group. Table 10 displays the means, the range, i.e. the minimum and the maximum figures of the pre-course TEAM listening scores and the t-test results. (All the t-tests employed in the study are two-tailed and adopt the criterion of the 5% significance level).

Table 10: Means, range and t-tests of the four classes in pre-course Team listening test

group	n	mean	s.d.	range (min-max)	t-value	df	p
G1	8	47.88	13.48	30-73	0.05	15	n.s.
G2	9	48.22	16.46	18-71			
C1	8	55.13	11.47	35-72	0.55	13	n.s.
C2	7	50.29	19.89	16-82			

n.s. = non-significant difference

The non-significant differences between G1 and G2 and between C1 and C2 before the course show that, as intended, the classes displayed similar ranges of listening ability.

The TEAM listening scores of the subjects of both of the groups, i.e. GG and CG, were also compared to find any significant difference between the two groups (see Table 11).

Table 11: Means, range and t-tests of the groups in pre-course TEAM listening test

group	n	mean	s.d.	range (min-max)	t-value	df	p
GG	17	48.06	14.66	18-73	1.13	30	n.s.
CG	15	52.87	15.54	16-82			

n.s. = non-significant difference

The mean difference between the two groups did not reach significance. In other words, the two groups, GG and CG, can be regarded as occupying similar ranges of listening ability before they attended the course.

At the end of the 12-hour treatment, the subjects of both groups were asked to retake the TEAM listening test. The t-test was then used to find out if the differences between the post-course means of the classes in the same group were significant (see Table 12).

Table 12: Means, range and t-tests of the four classes in post-course TEAM listening test

gorup	n	mean	s.d.	range (min-max)	t-value	df	p
G1	8	60.75	8.10	51-75	0.24	15	n.s.
G2	9	59.22	16.27	36-80			
C1	8	66.63	13.18	46-83	0.01	13	n.s.
C2	7	66.72	23.34	22-92			

n.s. = non-significant difference

The result of the t-test in each group indicates that the differences between G1 and G2 and between C1 and C2 after the course were, again, not significant. The classes are of approximately the same listening ability after the speaking course.

The group means of the post-course listening scores achieved by GG and CG were compared and the results are shown in Table 13.

Table 13: Means, range and t-tests of the groups in post-course TEAM listening test

group	n	mean	s.d.	range (min-max)	t-value	df	p
GG	17	59.94	12.72	36-80	1.24	30	n.s.
CG	15	66.67	17.90	22-92			

n.s. = non-significant difference

The t-test result shows that the difference between the two groups, GG and CG, in their post-course TEAM listening test is not significant. In other words, the listening ability of the two groups after the 12-hour treatment was approximately the same.

By looking at the pre- and post-course TEAM listening scores, we see that the subjects in each of the groups showed improvement. T-tests were carried out to find out if there was significant difference in each group's pre- and post-course TEAM listening tests (see Table 14).

Table 14: Means, range and t-tests of GG and CG in pre- and post-course TEAM listening tests

group	n	mean	s.d.	range (min-max)	t-value	df	p
GG							
pre-	17	48.06	14.66	18-73	6.35	30	s
post-		59.94	12.72	36-80			
group	n	mean	s.d.	range	t-value	df	p
CG							
pre-	15	52.87	15.54	16-82	6.73	30	s
post-		66.67	17.90	22-92			

s = significant difference

The t-test results allow some confidence that the difference is real in the data; the subjects improved significantly from pre- to post-course TEAM listening test (see Appendix XIV (i) and (ii) for pre- and post-course TEAM listening scores of the two groups).

The lack of difference between the post-course listening scores of the subjects in GG and CG is not unexpected, since the subjects showed no difference to start with and the different treatments given to the groups during the course were not designed to focus specifically on one-way listening, as in dictation. It is possible that the improvement in scores before and after training was due to a 'practice effect', as the same listening test was administered twice. On the other hand, it could also be due to a genuine increase in listening ability over the period since

they had first taken TEAM; the fact that they were studying in the U.K., which provides a more helpful linguistic environment for their learning of the target language is likely to have assisted that real improvement.

8.1.2 Test Task (1) - Tai Tu

All the subjects completed the first test task, Tai Tu, either during the final session (the Audio Pairs) of the 12-hour course or at a separate videotaping session the following day (the Video Pairs).

8.1.2.1 The Audio Pairs

The Audio Pairs (n=18) performed the Tai Tu test task under the conditions described in section 7.2.2.1. The means of GG and CG Audio Pairs for the time taken to complete the test task, the total number of the utterances produced by the listeners and the information supplied by the speaker were compared (see Table 15).

Table 15: Means for time taken, listener utterances, information supplied and t-tests of the Audio Pairs in Tai Tu

group	n (listener)	time mean (minute)	s.d.	t-value	df	p
GG	6	10.60	4.72	0.44	6	n.s.
CG	4	9.33	1.53			
group	n	utterance mean	s.d.	t-value	df	p
GG	6	148.60	58.77	1.55	6	n.s.
CG	4	87.67	42.67			
group	n	information supplied mean	s.d.	t-value	df	p
GG	6	27	3.39	0.26	6	n.s.
CG	4	26.33	3.79			

n.s. = non-significant difference

The two groups of Audio Pairs did not differ significantly in the time taken to complete the task, the number of listener utterances or the information supplied by the speaker. The apparent (though non-significant) higher GG means for listener utterances could possibly be due to the fact that two GG pairs had re-examined the route that they had drawn by repeating and confirming the whole tour route.

In order to look in more detail at the differences between Audio Pairs in the two groups, t-tests were carried out on the means for the different categories of listener utterance and the range of the minimum number and the maximum number of utterances. Table 16 below displays the results of these findings.

Table 16: Means, range and t-tests of the listener utterances of the Audio Pairs in Tai Tu

group	n (listener)	clarification request	s.d.	range (min-max)	t-value	df	p
GG	6	9	8.89	1-24	1.04	8	n.s.
CG	4	3.33	3.06	0-6			
group	n	confirmation request	s.d.	range	t-value	df	p
GG	6	26.80	12.07	16-46	1.40	8	n.s.
CG	4	15.33	9.29	9-26			
group	n	comprehension indication	s.d.	range	t-value	df	p
GG	6	24.80	8.47	16-38	0.59	8	n.s.
CG	4	29.33	13.58	15-42			
group	n	confirmation indication	s.d.	range	t-value	df	p
GG	6	73.80	26.13	46-113	2.30	8	n.s.
CG	4	34.67	16.26	22-53			
group	n	request for new information	s.d.	range	t-value	df	p
GG	6	8	4	4-14	1.99	8	n.s.
CG	4	2.67	2.89	1-6			
group	n	backtracking	s.d.	range	t-value	df	p
GG	6	0.60	0.55	0-1	0.12	8	n.s.
CG	4	0.67	1.16	0-2			
group	n	initiation	s.d.	range	t-value	df	p
GG	6	5.20	3.42	1-8	1.89	8	n.s.
CG	4	1.33	0.58	1-2			
group	n	response	s.d.	range	t-value	df	p
GG	6	0.40	0.90	0-2	0.12	8	n.s.
CG	4	0.33	0.58	0-1			

n.s. = non-significant difference

Initial analysis of means of the different categories of utterances produced by the listeners in both groups may have given the impression that the GG listeners produced more than the CG listeners in almost all the different categories of the utterances, except comprehension indication and backtracking. However, the results of the t-test indicate that these differences were not significant. In other words, GG and CG produced essentially the same behaviour in terms of these utterance categories (see Appendix XV for the raw figures of the Audio Pairs' time taken, listener utterances and information supplied in Tai Tu, Appendix XVI for the amount of information supplied by the speakers of the Audio Pairs in Tai Tu and Appendix XVII (i-viii) for the complete Tai Tu transcripts with categories of listener utterances and maps of the Audio Pairs).

8.1.2.2 The Video Pairs

The Video Pairs (n=14) performed the same Tai Tu test task as the Audio Pairs but on the day after the 12-hour course and under slightly different physical conditions, as explained in section 7.2.2.3. The configuration of the Video Pairs was described in section 7.2.1.1.

The means for the time taken to complete the task, the total number of utterances produced by the listeners and the information supplied by the speakers were established and t-tests carried out to identify any significant differences (see Table 17).

Table 17: Means for time taken,listener utterances, information supplied and t-tests of the Video Pairs in Tai Tu

group	n (listener)	time mean (minute)	s.d.	t-value	df	p
GG	3	14	1	1.03	5	n.s.
CG	4	16.75	5.07			
group	n	utterance mean	s.d.	t-value	df	p
GG	3	90.67	13.53	2.33	5	n.s.
CG	4	143.55	45.34			
group	n	information supplied mean	s.d.	t-value	df	p
GG	3	28.67	5.51	0.33	5	n.s.
CG	4	29.25	3.78			

n.s. = non-significant difference

The two groups in the Video Pairs did not differ significantly on any of the measures analysed, although the t-value for the total number of the utterances produced by the listeners did almost reach significance (Appendix XVIII shows the raw figures of the Video Pairs' time taken, listener utterances and information supplied in Tai Tu and Appendix XIX shows the amount of information supplied by the speakers of the Video Pairs in Tai Tu).

To help explore any differences within GG and CG in Video Pairs' and Audio Pairs' performance on Tai Tu, the means of the time taken to complete the task, the total number of the utterances produced by the listeners and the information supplied by the speakers were compared. Table 18 displays the means

and t-test results for GG.

Table 18: Means for time taken, listener utterances, information supplied and t-tests of the Video and Audio GG Pairs in Tai Tu

group	n (listener)	time mean (minute)	s.d	t-value	df	p
video	3	14	4.58	0.98	6	n.s.
audio	6	10.60	4.72			
group	n	utterance mean	s.d.	t-value	df	p
video	3	90.67	34.93	1.53	6	n.s.
audio	6	148.60	58.77			
group	n	information supplied mean	s.d.	t-value	df	p
video	3	28.67	2.08	0.76	6	n.s.
audio	6	27	3.39			

n.s. = non-significant difference

The mean for listener utterances in the Audio Pairs is substantially larger than that in the Video Pairs, even though the difference does not reach the significance level. This could be due to the fact that the GG Audio Pairs included one trio, which produced more listener utterances, while in the GG Video Pairs, GL3 produced a relatively low number of utterances as (it emerged from interview) he had assumed that places under different names were the same and, thus, engaged in less negotiation.

The results of Table 18 show that GG subjects in Video and Audio Pairs did not differ significantly. Quantitatively speaking, the performance of the GG subjects in both Pairs on the test task, Tai Tu, is approximately the same.

Table 19 below displays the corresponding means and t-test results of the Video and Audio Pairs in CG.

Table 19: Means for time taken, listener utterances, information supplied and t-tests of the Video and Audio CG Pairs in Tai Tu

group	n (listener)	time mean (minute)	s.d.	t-value	df	p
video	4	16.75	2.50	4.50	5	s.
audio	4	9.33	1.53			
group	n	utterance mean	s.d.	t-value	df	p
video	4	143.55	25.69	2.18	5	n.s.
audio	4	87.67	42.67			
group	n	information supplied mean	s.d.	t-value	df	p
video	4	29.25	2.50	1.24	5	n.s.
audio	4	26.33	3.79			

n.s. = non-significant difference
s. = significant difference

The CG subjects in both of the Pairs did not differ significantly in the number of the utterances produced by the listeners and the information supplied by the speakers. However, they did differ significantly in the time taken to complete

the task: the Video Pairs took longer over the task than the Audio Pairs. (This had also been the tendency, though non-significant, in GG - see Table 18). On the whole, the fact that the CG Audio Pairs took less time to complete the task than the Video Pairs could be attributed to the different conditions under which the task was administered. The subjects in the Audio Pairs may have felt less pressure, since they were left alone in the classroom. They were instructed to turn on the cassette recorder by themselves whenever they were ready and turn it off when they had finished. In addition, they sat face to face with a screen in between, but the facial expressions could still be visible to the partner seated on the other side. The subjects in the Video Pairs were, on the other hand, both observed and videotaped. Moreover, the seating arrangement was less intimate, with the speaker behind a screen at one end of the room and the listener sitting next to the OHP at the other end of the room. Both these physical and psychological factors could have affected the time taken to complete the task.

Overall differences between the two different treatment groups, GG and CG, when Video Pairs are combined with Audio Pairs, were measured and analysed (see Table 20).

Table 20: Means for time taken, listener utterances, information supplied and t-tests of the Pairs combined in Tai Tu

video + audio	n (listener)	time mean (minute)	s.d.	t-value	df	p
GG	9	11.88	4.67	0.72	13	n.s.
CG	8	13.57	4.43			
video + audio	n	utterance mean	s.d.	t-value	df	p
GG	9	126.88	56.80	0.28	13	n.s.
CG	8	119.57	42.75			
video + audio	n	information supplied mean	s.d.	t-value	df	P
GG	9	27.63	2.93	0.24	13	n.s.
CG	8	28	3.22			

n.s. = non-significant difference

The results show that the two different groups of the Pairs combined did not differ significantly in their performance on Tai Tu.

In order to find out possible differences between the two groups' Video Pairs in terms of different categories of utterances, the means of these utterances of each group were compared. Table 21 below displays the means of these utterances and their t-test results.

Table 21: Means and t-tests of listener utterances produced by the Video Pairs in Tai Tu

group	n (listener)	range (min-max)	clarification request	s.d.	t-value	df	p
GG	3	6-15	11	4.58	0.06	5	n.s.
CG	4	4-17	10.75	5.56			
group	n	range	confirmation request	s.d.	t-value	df	p
GG	3	3-46	25.67	21.60	0.29	5	n.s.
CG	4	12-37	29.25	11.62			
group	n	range	comprehension indication	s.d.	t-value	df	p
GG	3	11-29	22.33	9.87	1.62	5	n.s.
CG	4	28-81	46.25	23.70			
group	n	range	confirmation indication	s.d.	t-value	df	p
GG	3	15-34	27	10.44	2.46	5	n.s.
CG	4	34-50	43.50	7.51			
group	n	range	request for new information	s.d.	t-value	df	p
GG	3	0-4	2.33	2.08	1	5	n.s.
CG	4	2-21	9.25	11.61			
group	n	range	backtracking	s.d.	t-value	df	p
GG	3	0-2	0.67	1.15	1.57	5	n.s.
CG	4	1-5	2.50	1.73			
group	n	range	initiation	s.d.	t-value	df	p
GG	3	0-2	1	1	0.56	5	n.s.
CG	4	0-3	1.50	1.29			
group	n	range	response	s.d.	t-value	df	p
GG	3	0-1	0.67	0.58	0.26	5	n.s.
CG	4	0-2	0.50	1			

n.s. = non-significant difference

In Table 21, the t-test results show that the production of different categories of listener utterances in GG and CG of the Video Pairs did not differ significantly on their first test task.

8.1.3 Test Task (2) - Marathon

After a week, the Video Pairs took their second test task, Marathon. The means of the time taken to complete the task, the number of the listener utterances and the information supplied by the speakers were calculated (see Appendix XX for the raw figures of the time taken, listener utterances and information supplied in Marathon and Appendix XXI for the amount of information supplied by the speakers of the Video Pairs in Marathon). Table 22 below displays these means and their t-test results.

Table 22: Means and t-tests for Video Pairs' time taken, listener utterances and information supplied in Marathon

group	n (listener)	time mean (minute)	s.d.	t-value	df	p
GG	3	21.33	3.51	0.55	5	n.s.
CG	4	19.50				
group	n	utterance mean	s.d.	t-value	df	p
GG	3	172	42.15	0.50	5	n.s.
CG	4	155.75	42.95			
group	n	information supplied mean	s.d.	t-value	df	p
GG	3	28.33	1.53	2.44	5	n.s.
CG	4	21	4.90			

n.s. = non-significant difference

The two groups did not therefore differ significantly on any of the measures.

Table 23 displays the results of a comparison of group means of types of listener utterance produced.

Table 23: Means and t-tests of listener utterances produced by the Video Pairs in Marathon

group	n (listener)	range (min-max)	clarification request	s.d.	t-value	df	p
GG	3	13-31	21	9.17	1.97	5	n.s.
CG	4	5-17	10.25	5.38			
group	n	range	confirmation request	s.d.	t-value	df	p
GG	3	41-56	45	9.64	1.98	5	n.s.
CG	4	20-44	29.25	10.94			
group	n	range	comprehension indication	s.d.	t-value	df	p
GG	3	16-63	39.67	23.50	0.64	5	n.s.
CG	4	24-59	49.75	18.68			
group	n	range	confirmation indication	s.d.	t-value	df	p
GG	3	45-68	56.33	11.50	0.43	5	n.s.
CG	4	15-75	49.25	25.93			
group	n	range	request for new information	s.d.	t-value	df	p
GG	3	2-3	2.67	0.58	1.43	5	n.s.
CG	4	2-23	11	9.83			
group	n	range	backtracking	s.d.	t-value	df	p
GG	3	1-4	2	1.73	0.51	5	n.s.
CG	4	0-5	2.75	2.06			
group	n	range	initiation	s.d.	t-value	df	p
GG	3	3-6	4.33	1.53	0.66	5	n.s.
CG	4	0-7	3	3.16			
group	n	range	response	s.d.	t-value	df	p
GG	3	0-1	0.67	0.58	2.39	5	n.s.
CG	4	0	0	0			

n.s. = non-significant difference

Table 23 shows that the listeners in the two groups did not differ significantly in any respect.

8.1.4 Test Task (3) - Silver Island

After three months, the third and final test task, Silver Island, was administered (Appendix XXII displays the raw figures of the time taken, listener utterances and information supplied in this task and Appendix XXIII shows the amount of information supplied by the speakers). Table 24 below displays the basic quantitative means and the t-test results between the two groups.

Table 24: Means and t-tests for Video Pairs' time taken,listener utterances and information supplied in Silver Island

group	n (listener)	time mean (minute)	s.d.	t-value	df	p
GG	3	14	1	0.82	5	n.s.
CG	4	16.50	5.07			
group	n	utterance mean	s.d.	t-value	df	p
GG	3	103	13.53	1.27	5	n.s.
CG	4	138	45.34			
group	n	information supplied mean	s.d.	t-value	df	p
GG	3	21.33	5.51	1.18	5	n.s.
CG	4	17.25	3.78			

n.s. = non-significant difference

As in the case of the previous tasks, the groups' performance on Silver Island

was approximately the same.

Table 25 below displays the results of a comparison of group means of types of listener utterance produced.

Table 25: Means and t-tests of listener utterances produced by the Video Pairs in Silver Island

group	n	range (min-max)	clarification request	s.d.	t-value	df	p
GG	3	4-9	6.33	2.52	0.90	5	n.s.
CG	4	1-20	11.50	9.47			
group	n	range	confirmation request	s.d.	t-value	df	p
GG	3	13-33	22	10.15	0.23	5	n.s.
CG	4	12-46	24.50	16.20			
group	n	range	comprehension indication	s.d.	t-value	df	p
GG	3	20-34	29.33	8.08	0.43	5	n.s.
CG	4	20-38	32	8.29			
group	n	range	confirmation indication	s.d.	t-value	df	p
GG	3	37-45	41.33	4.04	1.39	5	n.s.
CG	4	35-62	52	12.57			
group	n	range	request for new information	s.d.	t-value	df	p
GG	3	0-1	0.33	0.58	1.59	5	n.s.
CG	4	2-20	8	8.17			
group	n	range	backtracking	s.d.	t-value	df	p
GG	3	0-1	0.33	0.58	0.35	5	n.s.
CG	4	0-2	0.50	1			
group	n	range	initiation	s.d.	t-value	df	p
GG	3	1-5	2.67	2.08	0.57	5	n.s.
CG	4	1-7	3.75	2.75			
group	n	range	response	s.d.	t-value	df	p
GG	3	0-1	0.67	0.58	0.79	5	n.s.
CG	4	0-22	5.75	10.84			

n.s. = non-significant difference

The results in Table 25 show that the listeners in the two groups did not differ significantly in their production of the different categories of utterances in their third and final test task, Silver Island. Quantitatively speaking, the listeners of the two groups gave similar performances.

8.1.5 Summary of the Three Test Tasks

To look at the overall performance, i.e. from the first test task to the third one, the means of the total time that the groups had taken to complete all the three test tasks, the total number of listener utterances and the information supplied by the speakers were calculated. Table 26 displays these means and their t-test results in the three test tasks combined.

Table 26: Means and t-tests of the three test tasks combined

test task	group	n (listener)	time mean (minute)	s.d.	t-value	df	p
TASKS COMBINED	GG	3	49.33	6.11	0.66	5	n.s.
	CG	4	53.75	10.20			
	group	n	utterance mean	s.d.	t-value	df	p
	GG	3	365.33	44.97	1.66	5	n.s.
	CG	4	436.50	62.54			
	group	n	information supplied mean	s.d.	t-value	df	p
	GG	3	78.33	2.08	1.85	5	n.s.
	CG	4	67.50	9.75			

n.s. = non-significant difference

The results in Table 26 show that, as we found in the three tasks taken separately, the two groups did not differ significantly over the series in terms of time taken, the number of listener utterances produced or the information supplied by the speakers.

Finally, the percentage of the total number of utterances produced in each category of utterance by each listener was calculated for each test task and for the three tasks combined (see Appendix XXIV for the percentages of listener utterances, the time taken, utterances produced and information supplied in the three tasks separately and the means of these three measures in the three tasks combined). The

figures are presented in bar charts to provide an overview of each individual's performance. Figures 14-24 display the percentage figures of the different categories of utterances produced by the listener in each of the subject pairs throughout the map series and in all the three test tasks combined. Each figure shows one category of utterance produced by each of the seven listeners. Figures 22-24 display the time that each of the pairs had taken to finish the task, the number of listener utterances produced and the information supplied by the speaker in each of the three test tasks and the means of these measures in all three combined.

In each figure, the X-axis, i.e. the horizontal line, denotes the seven listeners of the Video Pairs. Three of them are in the Guidance Group (GG): GL1, GL2 and GL3; four of them are from the Correction Group (CG): CL1, CL2, CL3 and CL4. The Y-axis, i.e. the vertical line, denotes the percentage of a certain category of utterance out of the total number of the utterances produced.

Figure 14 below shows the percentage of the number of clarification requests produced by each of the seven listeners in the three test tasks and in the three combined.

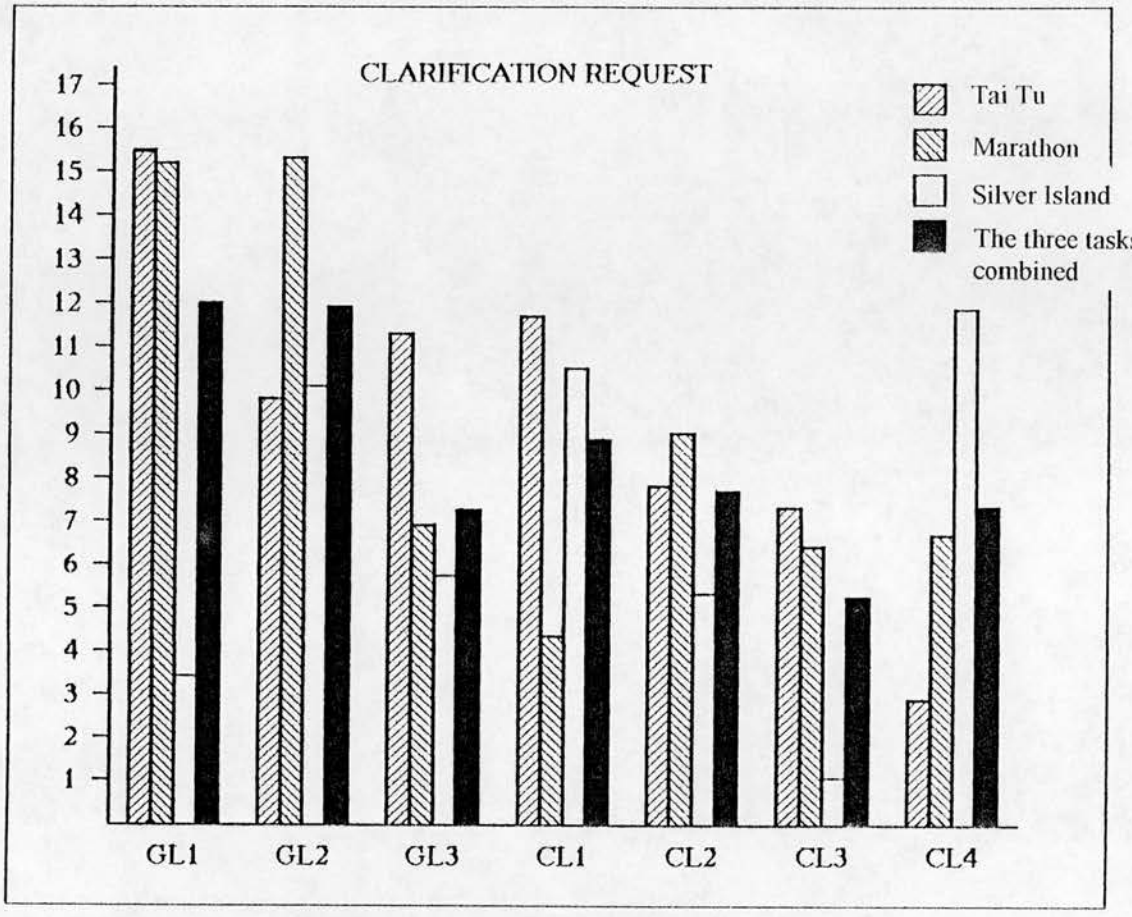

Figure 14: Percentage of clarification requests in the three tasks separately and combined

Figure 14 shows that GL1 and GL2 had produced most clarification requests in their second test task, Marathon. It was thought that there would be more clarification requests produced in the third test task, Silver Island, as it is designed to be the most difficult map task of the three in the series. However, Figure 14 shows that this assumption is not true in every case; it can be seen that fewer clarification requests were produced in Silver Island in the cases of GL1, GL3, CL2 and CL3. This could possibly be due to the fact that both participants were actually getting better. In other words, the speaker may have got better at

supplying information, due to familiarity; as Yule (1991) pointed out, it is likely that speakers learning to negotiate solutions to referential problems simply through practice with the task. On the other hand, it could be due to improvement in target language in the three-month interval between Marathon and Silver Island. This could also be true of their partners whose listening ability may have got better over this period through daily interactions. Thus, further clarification was not required. CL4 was the only listener whose number of clarification requests gradually increased in every test task. CL4, though not from GG, may have learnt over the series of tasks how to ask for clarification; alternatively, his English may have actually improved, especially in the three months between the second and the third test task.

Figure 15 below shows the percentage of the number of confirmation requests produced by each of the listeners in the three test tasks and in the three combined.

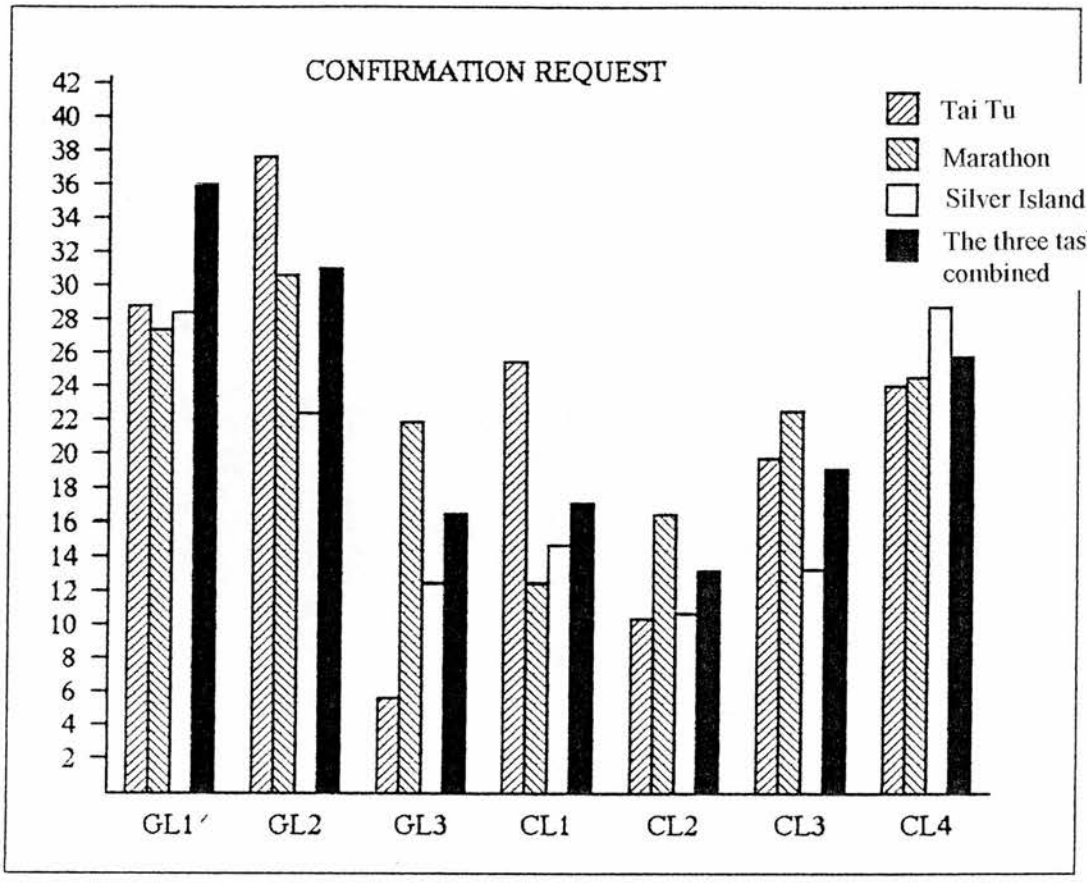

Figure 15: Percentage of confirmation requests in the three tasks separately and combined

As in the case of producing clarification requests, CL4 was the only one to have used more confirmation requests in his final test task, Silver Island.

The figure shows that GL1 produced most confirmation requests in the three test tasks combined. GL1, in fact, was quite consistent in producing confirmation requests throughout the map series. This could be due to the effect of the training he received. GL1 said in his interview that he was aware of using some of the strategies taught when he was doing his test tasks as he said,"...the strategy of repetition was pointed out in the course."

In fact, looking at Figures 14 and 15, the two GG subjects, GL1 and GL2 produced more clarification and confirmation requests than the other listeners.

Figure 16 shows the percentage of the number of comprehension indications produced by each of the seven listeners in the three test tasks and in the three combined.

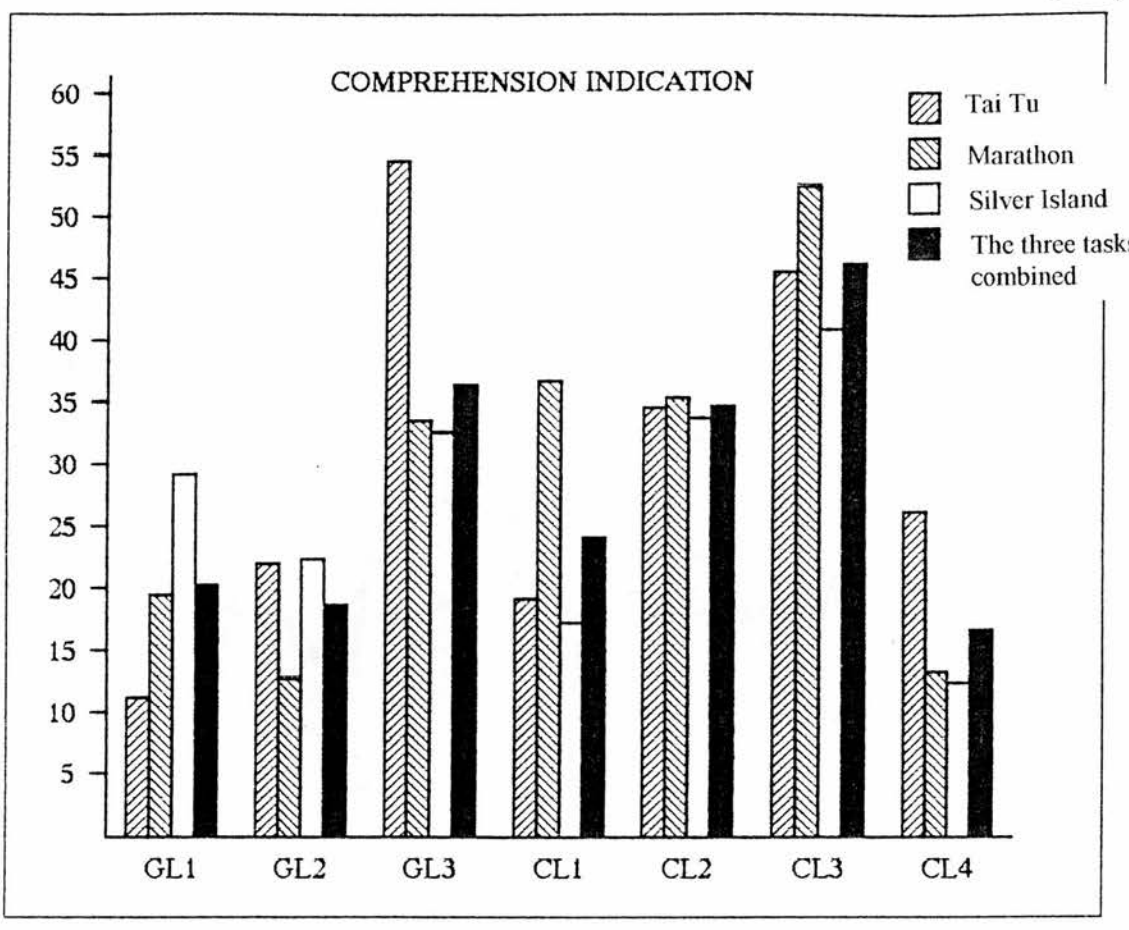

Figure 16: Percentage of comprehension indications in the three tasks separately and combined

In the figure, we can see that the number of comprehension indications produced by GL3 was sharply higher in the first test task, Tai Tu. It could be that

GL3 had assumed the places under different names in the two map versions, i.e. the listener's and the speaker's, were identical, so he used more comprehension indications in Tai Tu to signal to the speaker to go on. CL1 produced a higher number of comprehension indications in his second test task, Marathon, than in the other two test tasks. However, in the three test tasks combined, CL3 had the greatest number of comprehension indications as well as in his second test task, Marathon. This could possibly be due to the fact that CL3 used comprehension indications as a 'go ahead' signal to indicate to his speaker to move on, as well as using it to signal comprehension.

Figure 17 below shows the percentage of the number of confirmation indications produced by the each of the seven listeners in the three test tasks separately and combined.

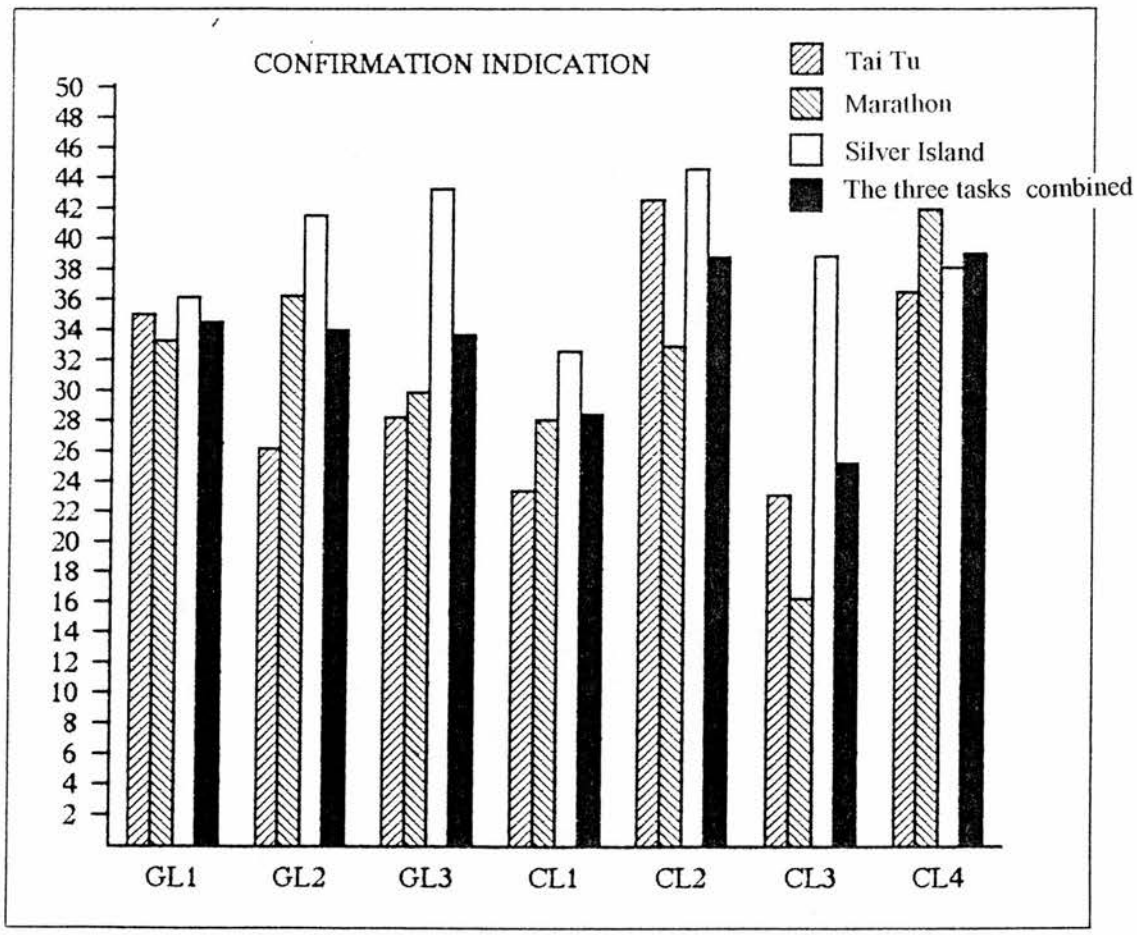

Figure 17: Percentage of confirmation indications in the three tasks separately and combined

Figure 18 shows the percentage of the number of the requests for new information produced by each of the listeners in the three test tasks separately and combined.

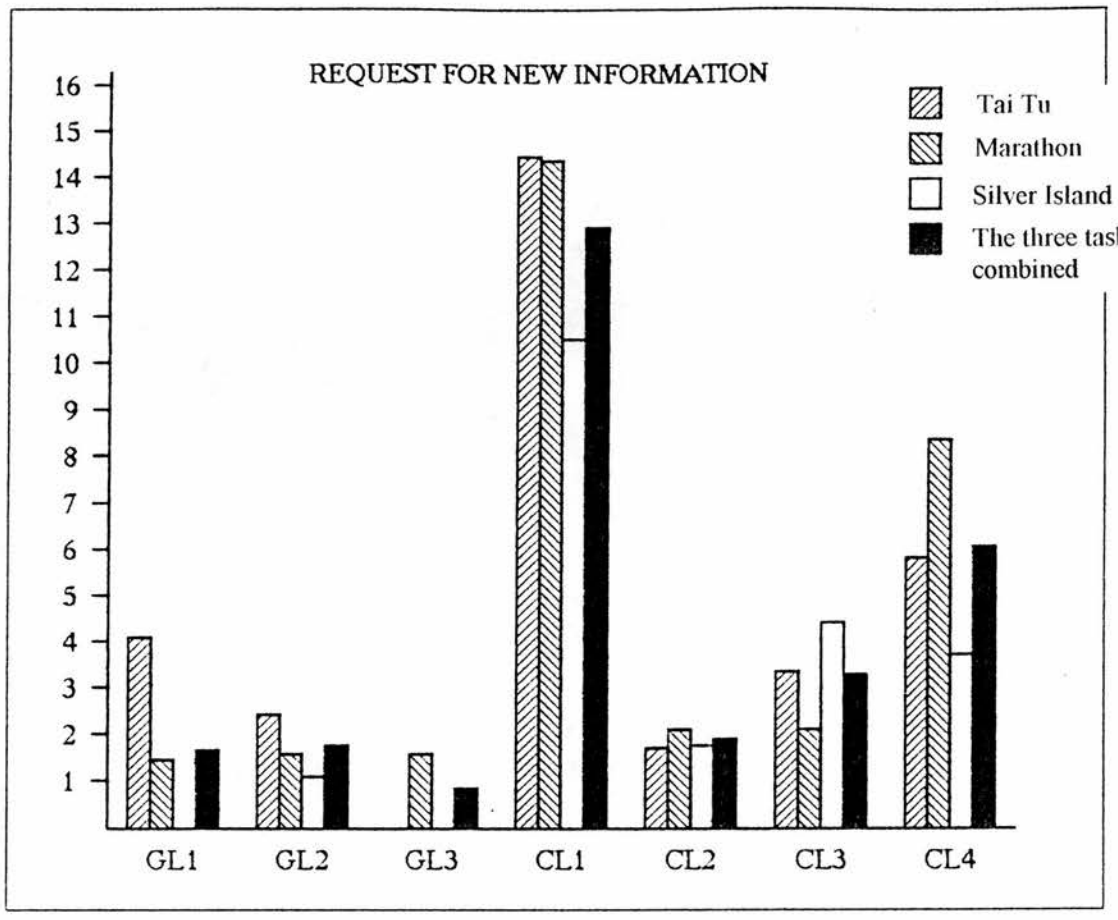

Figure 18: Percentage of requests for new information in the three tasks separately and combined

The figure shows that CL1 produced the most number in the requests for new information. Throughout the test tasks, CL1 used a lot of "and thens" to request for new information. He might have used it because it was within his repertoire and he did not have to say more to express his intention to move ahead.

Figure 19 shows the percentage of the number of backtracking produced by each of the seven listeners in the three test tasks and in the three combined.

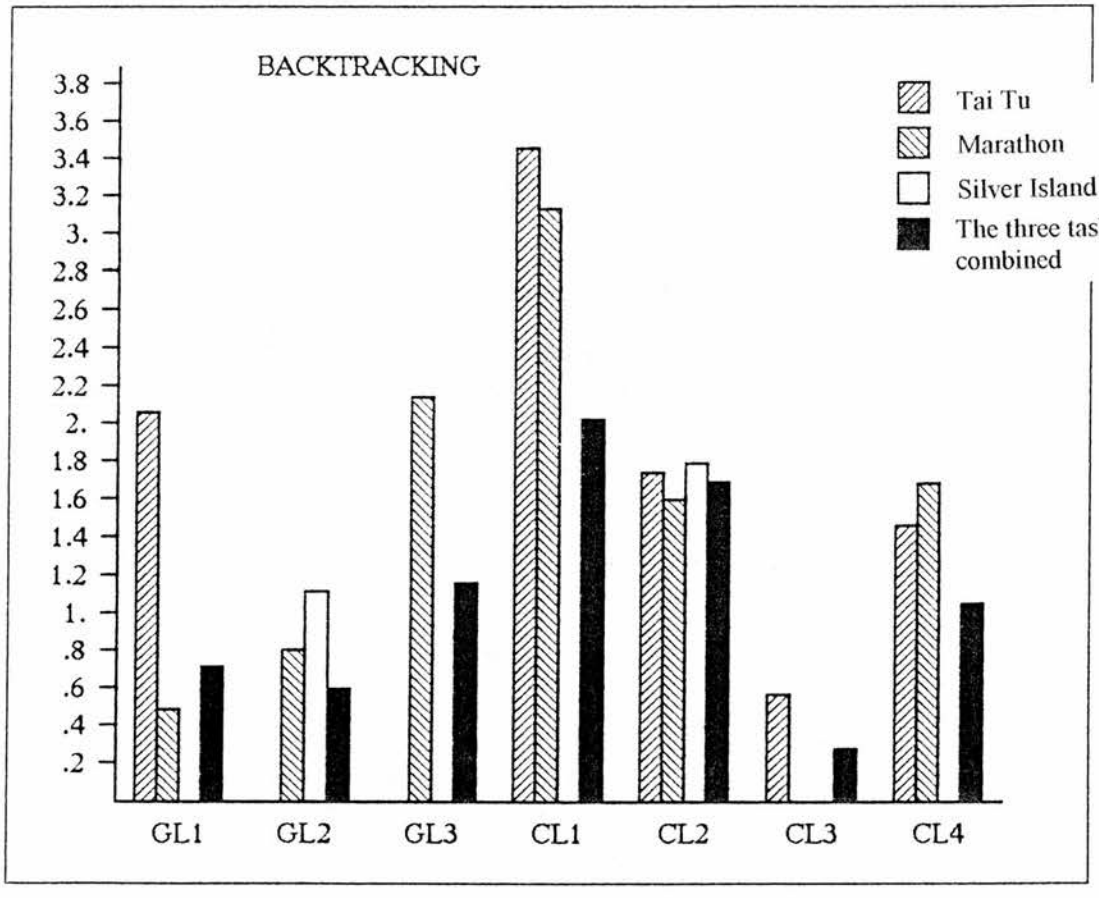

Figure 19: Percentage of backtrackings in the three tasks separately and combined

The figure shows that CL2 is the only one who was consistent in using backtracking when she was working on her test tasks.

Figure 20 shows the percentage of the number of initiations produced by each of the seven listeners in the three test tasks separately and combined.

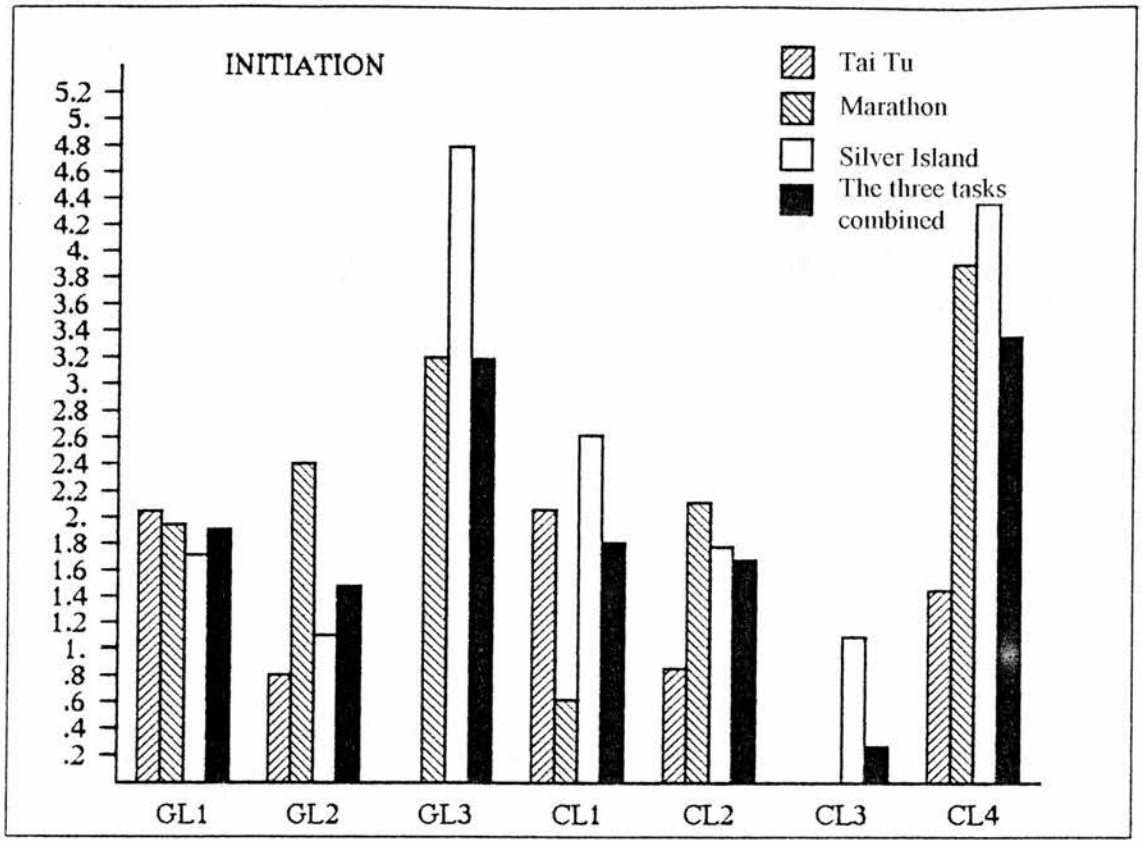

Figure 20: Percentage of initiations in the three tasks separately and combined

The figure shows that GL1 produced consistent initiations throughout his three test tasks and GL3 initiated more information in his final test task, Silver Island. On one hand, this could be due to the familiarity with the task and the speaker. On the other, it is possible that GL3 had discovered 'initiation', i.e. providing the speaker with information on his map, as a strategy to tackle the referential conflicts. The number of initiations produced by CL4, however, increased in every test task. This is actually surprising as CL4 said in his first interview that he was not paying attention to the Marathon task as he had a lesson to go to. However, he managed to initiate more information in Marathon than in

Tai Tu and yet even more in Silver Island. Nonetheless, CL4's highest number of initiations in Silver Island could be explained by the fact that the interval between tasks had given him a chance to improve his target language or overcome his shyness, a personal factor that he discussed in his interview..

Figure 21 shows the percentage of the number of responses produced by each listener in the three test tasks and in the three combined.

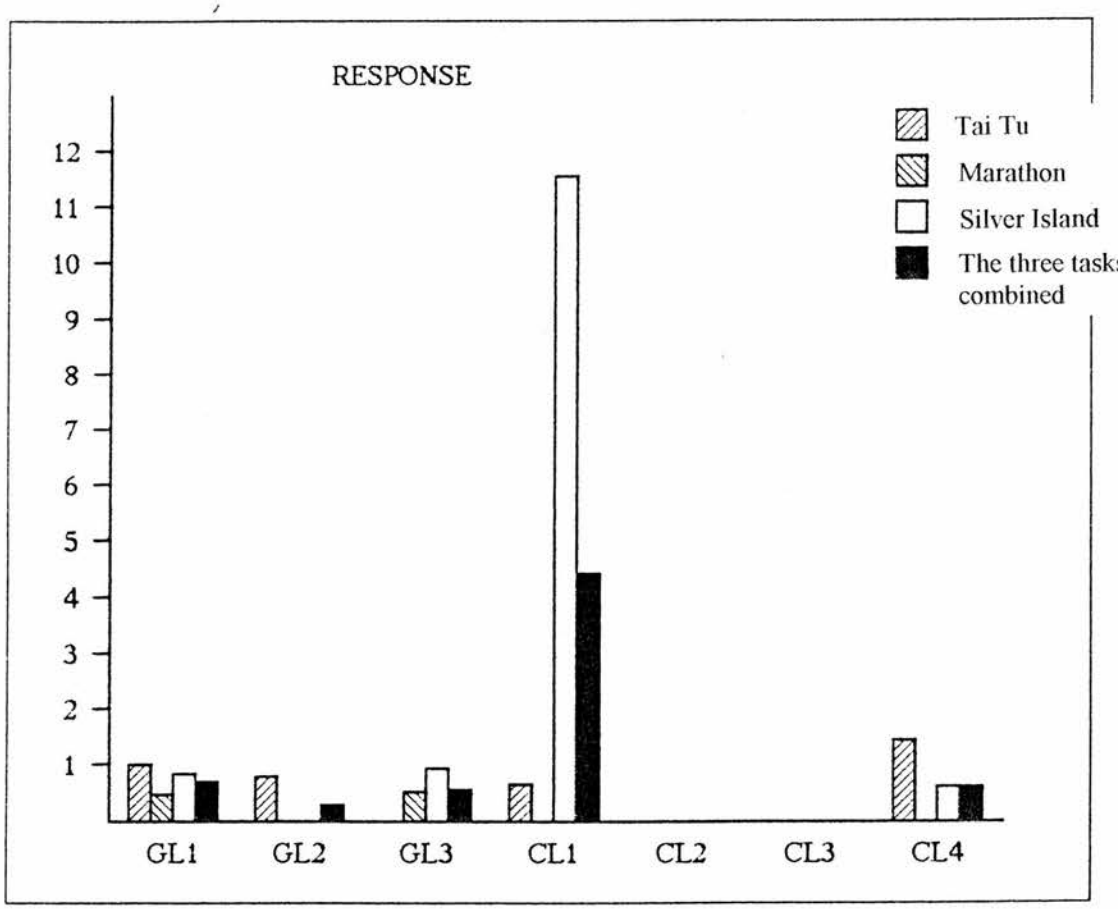

Figure 21: Percentage of responses in the three tasks separately and combined

The category of responses exclude the 'yes/no' responses. From the diagram,

CL1 produced the highest number of responses in his final test task, Silver Island. This is due to the fact that in Silver Island, his speaker asked him questions about what he had in his map, which she had not done as much in the two previous test tasks.

As mentioned earlier, figures 22-24 show the time that each pair had taken to complete the task, the number of listener utterances produced and the information supplied in each of the three tasks and the means of these measures in the three combined. Figure 22 shows the time taken by each listener in the three test tasks separately and combined.

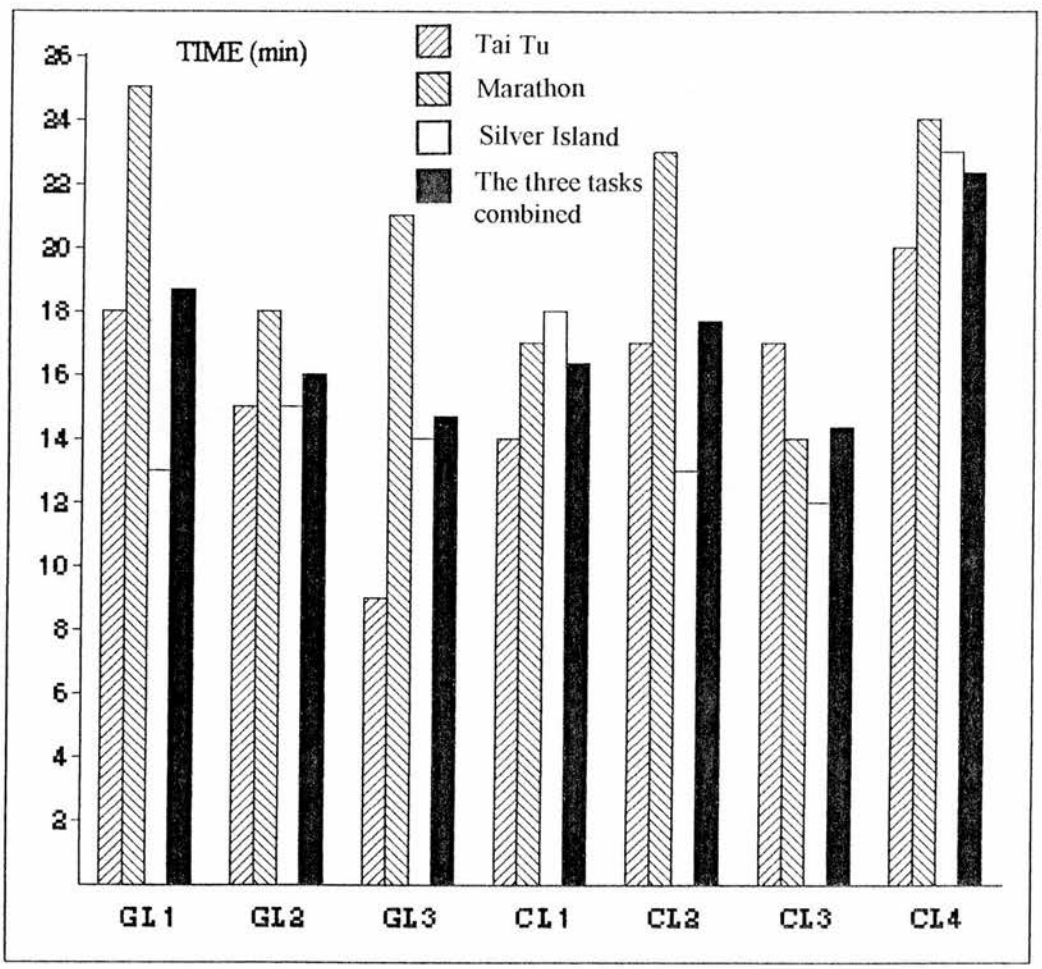

Figure 22: Time taken in each task and the mean in the three combined

The diagram shows that GL3 took the shortest time of nine minutes in his first test task, Tai Tu. As explained earlier, this was because he had assumed that the places under different names in the two map versions were the same. Thus, he engaged in very little negotiation with the speaker, as he did not have any specific problem points; this could also have accounted for his highest number of comprehension indications (see Figure 16). In doing the second test task, Marathon, GL1, GL2, GL3, CL2 and CL4 all took a longer time to finish than in the other two test tasks. Although the second test task, Marathon is not designed to be the most difficult one, it was more difficult than the first test task, Tai Tu, which the listeners had to complete only after a week's interval from the administration of Tai Tu. On the other hand, there was a three-month interval between Marathon and Silver Island; the subjects' English may well have improved in these three months. Further, the essential information of Marathon that a speaker needs to convey to his/her listener, in fact, is more than the other two test tasks, as the map itself has more turns, despite the level of content difficulty of the map series was designed to manipulate. Nonetheless, in the case of CL4, it is surprising to find that, as he said in his interview, he had known that at some point the map was drawn wrong but simply insisted on carrying on the negotiation with his speaker; as a result he spent the longest time of all the subjects on the whole negotiation process.

On the third test task, Silver Island, CL1 took the most time to finish. This was possibly due to the speaker's change of strategy for information-giving. Instead of simply giving information, she asked her listener to give her information about his map, for example, how many lakes or villages he had and to describe the

surroundings to her. On the other hand, the time CL3 spent on task declined with each task; as he said in his interview, he found his performance on the tasks getting better each time. In fact, among the subjects, GL1, and CL2 also spent less time in doing the third test task. This they attributed to greater familiarity with the task and their speakers.

Figure 23 shows the total number of utterances produced by the listeners in the three test tasks taken separately and combined.

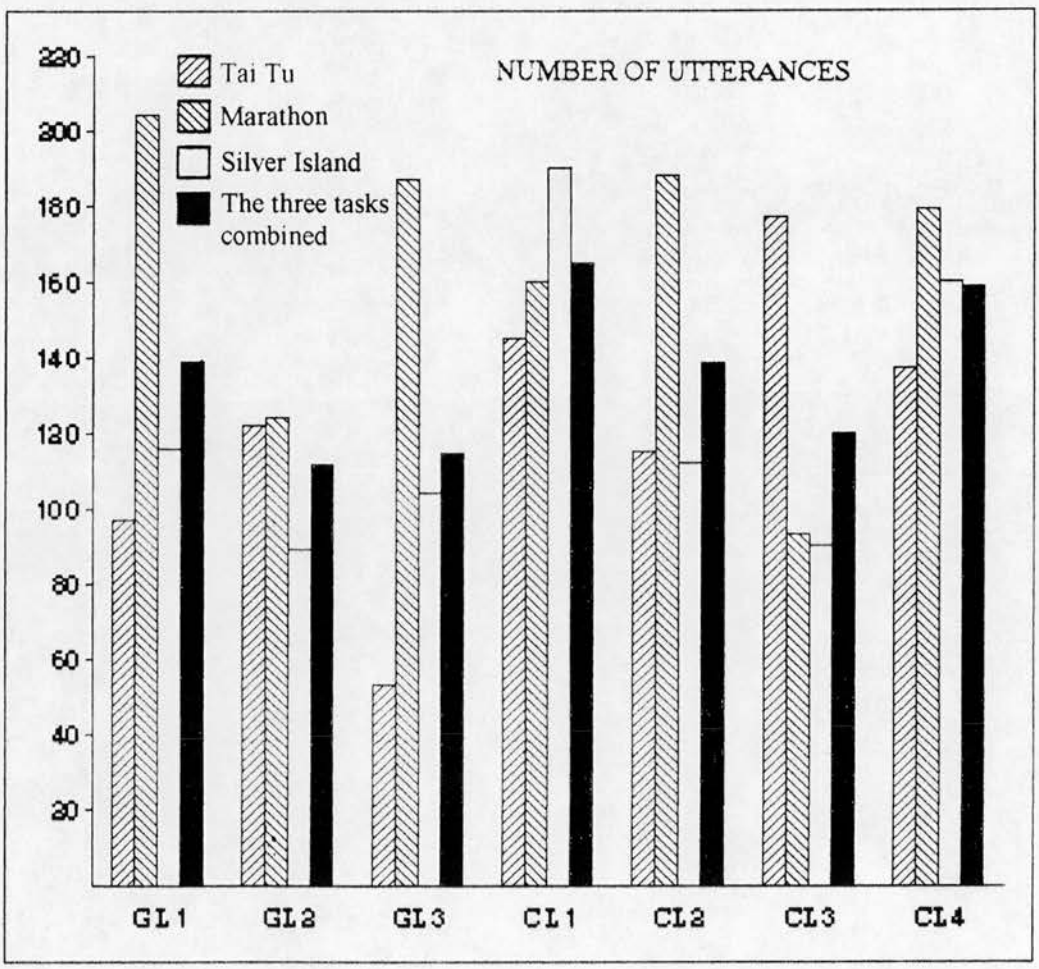

Figure 23: Total number of listener utterances in each task and the mean in the three combined

Looking at Figure 23, we can see that with the exception of CL1 and CL3 the listeners produced more utterances on their second task, Marathon. On the third task, as mentioned earlier, CL1 was asked a lot of questions by the speaker about the places he had on his map, so this might have accounted for the fact that his production of utterances on Silver Island was greater. On the other hand, CL3 and his partner experienced some confusion over a stretch of route in their first test task, Tai Tu, which they had spent longer time on trying to find their way through. Thus, CL3's production of utterances in Tai Tu was higher than his other two tasks.

Figure 24 shows the amount of information supplied to the listeners by the speakers on the three separate tasks and on the three combined. This figure includes both essential and supplementary information.

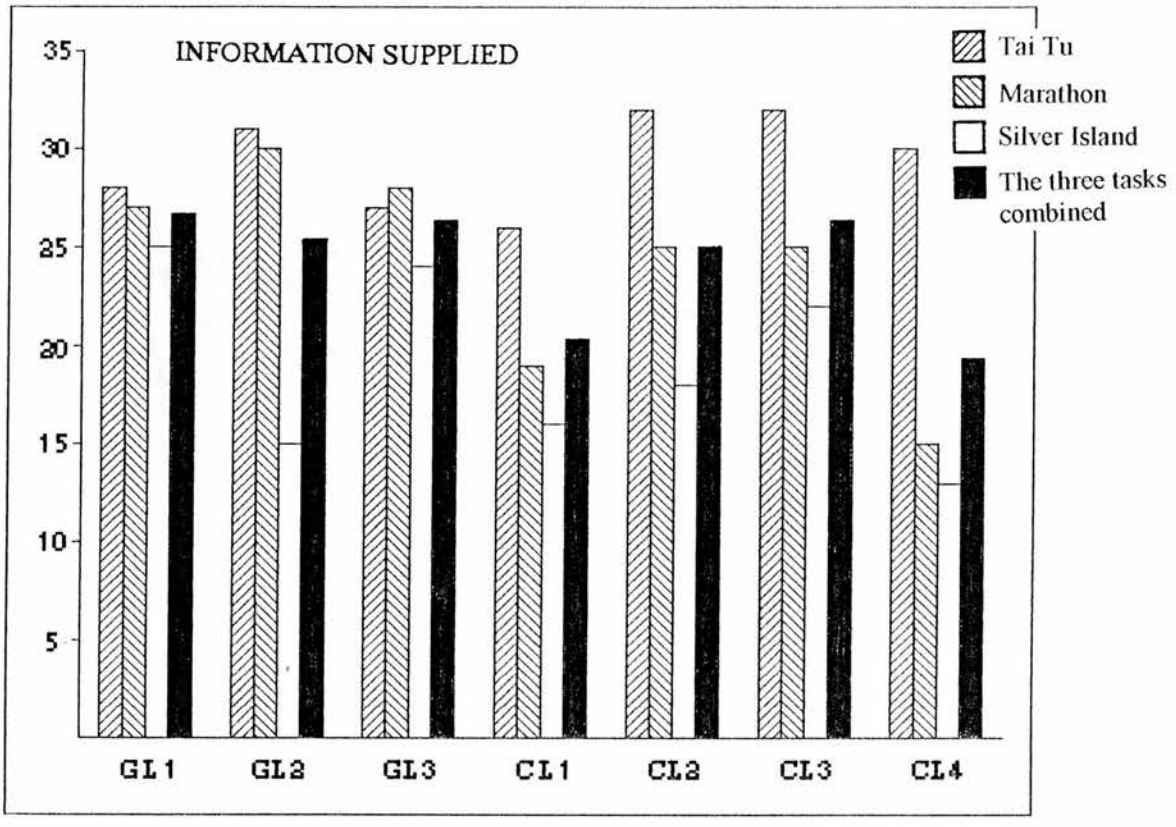

Figure 24: Information supplied by speaker in each task and the mean in the three combined

On the whole, the amount of information given by the speakers fell in every test task, except in the case of GL3 who was given slightly more information in his second test task, Marathon.

Although the map series is intended to gain in difficulty level from Tai Tu to Silver Island, the amount of information required, in fact, depends on how many turns or corners the route involves. In other words, the more turns, the more information is necessary. Of the three maps, Tai Tu, actually presents the greatest number of turns, since it consists of a grid of streets; this may account for the

greater quantity of information supplied by/for the subjects.

8.1.6 Summary of the Analysis

Looking at the diagrams overall, we find that the GG listeners, especially GL1 and GL2, produced more clarification requests than those in CG. Though no significantly differences emerged, this slight increase in clarification requests by the GG listeners may possibly be due to the strategy treatment they received during the 12-hour training.

In general, as one might expect, the listeners tended to produce fewer clarification requests if they signalled more comprehension or confirmation in the negotiation process. In Tai Tu, CL4 made fewer clarification requests but gave more comprehension indications; in Marathon, CL1 made fewer clarification requests but more comprehension indications; in Silver Island, GL1 made fewer clarification requests but more comprehension indications, whereas GL3, CL2 and CL3 made fewer clarification requests but produced more confirmation indications. On the other hand, GL2 was the only listener who produced more clarification requests in Marathon and fewer comprehension indications.

8.1.6.1 Individual Behaviour

Individually speaking, GL1 produced the lowest number of clarification requests in Silver Island but most comprehension indications, whereas his confirmation indications were fairly consistent in all three test tasks. This could be due to his better comprehension on the final test task or the fact that his partner

was actually getting better. In the categories of requests for new information and backtracking, GL1 produced more of these utterances in his first test task than in the other two. Generally speaking, GL1 seems to use more interactional strategies in his first test task, Tai Tu, than in his other two test tasks.

GL2 produced more clarification requests and initiations on the second test task, Marathon. Judging from his production of clarification requests, GL2 seems to have a 'delayed effect' on his production of a certain interactional strategy, clarification request, and this effect does not last in his final test task, Silver Island. In other words, GL2 may have benefited from the strategy treatment that he had received but possibly needed time to digest it. Thus, more clarification requests were found in his Marathon task. On the other hand, this 'effect' may simply be due to the level of difficulty of the task.

GL3 who has a lower listening score than the other subjects produced more clarification requests on the first test task, Tai Tu, despite spending less time on this task. He seems to have shown more initiative on the second test task, Marathon, as he made more requests for new information, backtrackings and initiated more information to his speaker. In terms of interactional strategies, he appears to have been more successful on the Marathon task and despite his weaker listening ability, he seems to be able to use the interactional strategies as effectively as the other subjects.

CL1 produced more clarification and confirmation requests on his first test

task, Tai Tu. However, the production of these types of request decreased on Marathon but rose again on Silver Island. He appears to have used more interactional strategies in the first test task though he had received no strategy treatment in the course.

CL2 produced more clarification and confirmation requests in her second test task, Marathon. Her productions of request for new information and initiation were also slightly higher in Marathon than in her other two tasks. This could possibly be due to the level of difficulty of the task, which led her to use more interactional listening strategies.

CL3 made fewer clarification requests on his third test task, Silver Island. CL3 seems to have used more interactional listening strategies in his first test task, Tai Tu.

Finally, CL4 used more interactional listening strategies on his third test task, Silver Island. He said in his interview that the third test task was the most difficult one and this may account for greater use of clarification requests.

8.2 Qualitative Analysis in Individual Changes over Time

This section provides an analysis based on the two retrospection interviews with the seven listeners in the Video Pairs. It shows that the different ways used by the speakers to convey messages and the various interrelated factors or range of ways that listeners resort to tackle referential problems are all crucial to the negotiated outcome of an interaction. Thus, negotiation may be an indispensable feature in verbal communication, but it does not always lead to successful communication. In other words, it may not result in the correct solution of the referential problems. Moreover, participants can even pretend negotiation and continue interacting with their partners, as we will see in the case of one of the subjects.

8.2.1 Perceived Changes in Performance

The first interview took place after the completion of the first and the second tasks, Tai Tu and Marathon; the second one took place after the completion of the final task, Silver Island.

The listeners were asked to come to the interviews individually. The interviews were conducted in the researcher's home which was thought to provide a more casual setting than a classroom or an interview room and, thus, might put the subject listeners more at ease and enable them to talk more freely about their own performances and comment on the tasks and the course. Before the interview was conducted, the listeners were offered some tea or a meal, depending on the time of the interview, followed by an informal chat with the researcher and in some

cases, an interpreter. It is believed that the atmosphere of the interviews was relaxing and friendly, as none of the listeners showed any signs of nervousness or unease. They all seemed to talk freely and openly. Moreover, the fact that both interviews were conducted in the listeners' L1, i.e. either Chinese (Mandarin/Cantonese) or Italian, should have helped them to feel more confident in expressing themselves and giving comments without worrying about linguistic difficulties or errors. The interviews were audiotaped. As the interviews were not conducted immediately after the tasks, the listeners' videotaped performance served as a memory support to remind them of the problems they had encountered when they were working on the test tasks. They were also able to refer to the route that they had drawn on the transparencies, together with their videotaped performance, if they thought it was necessary to refresh their memory.

The interviews were divided into three parts. The first part of the interviews was on specific points in their own performance as listeners, i.e. the problems they had encountered when they were working on the test tasks. In this part of the interview, the listeners were asked to explain, while they were watching their own videotaped task performance, the problems which had prompted them to hesitate or stop at times when they were trying to find their way on the maps with the help of their partner. The second part of the interviews focused on their perception of their self-assessed performance on the tasks, e.g. whether they were aware of using the interactional strategies or pronunciation accuracy brought up in the training sessions. Finally, the third part of the interviews was on their perceptions of the speaking course itself.

The performance of the seven video listeners is analysed individually. In the first section 8.2.1.1, the analysis is based on the problem points identified in the videotaped performance, i.e. points where the listener hesitated or stopped, apparently as a result of a communication problem (see Appendices XXVI to XXXIX for each listener's transcripts with categories of listener utterances, completed maps of the three test tasks and the retrospection interviews). Extracts from each task are used to illustrate the problems. The extracts are analysed into four categories. The categories are:

(1) the interactional listening strategies that the listener employed;

(2) the speaker's reaction;

(3) the negotiated outcome;

(4) the listener's perspective of the problem points at which hesitation or pauses were seen on the videotapes (listener's retrospective comments).

The category of the speaker's reaction is based on the categories of solutions to referential problems discussed in Yule, Powers and Macdonald (1992) (see Appendix XXV for Yule et al's categories).

The Guidance Group (GG) has three listeners: GL1, GL2 and GL3. The Correction Group (CG) has four listeners: CL1, CL2, CL3 and CL4.

8.2.1. Problem Points in the Test Tasks

- LISTENER GL1

Test Task One - Tai Tu

Extract (1): At Beijing Road

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: You start from the Hotel, you'll go straight on and second turn on the right, on the right...Beijing Road.				
L: Eh, excuse me, could you, eh, speak a little slower?	clarification request			
S: Uh...				
L: Eh, I am now in a, in a...				
S: \hotel, go straight, uh, go straight on and aim the second turn on the right. You are at Beijing Road.				
L: Beijing Road? You mean 'Beijing Road'?	confirmation request			I could not find the name 'Beijing Road' at first, so I had to stop, look carefully at my map before I moved on.
S: Yes, Beijing, Beijing Road.				
L: Eh...Beijing Road.	confirmation indication		solved by looking carefully	

When asked why he hesitated at Beijing Road, GL1 answered that he was not able to find the name. However, from the videotape, it seemed that the speaker was talking rather too fast for GL1 to catch up with the instruction in the speaker's first turn. Thus, the speaker was asked to slow down.

Extract (2): At Palace Avenue and the Statue/Monument

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: Eh...when you see the Palace, you will, uh, go straight on, uh, in a Palace Avenue and you will see the Monument wh...yes, which is, eh, opposite, uh, at the end of the Avenue Palace.				
L: Huh?	clarification request			I could not follow what the speaker had told me to do.
S: Can you find it?				
L: Eh...you mean opposite the Palace?	confirmation request			
S: No, uh, when you see the Palace, you will, uh, return back and, uh, you'll go straight on on Avenue Palace and opposite the end of the Avenue, you will see the Monument. **(Turn 3)**				
L: Eh, mon, monument.	confirmation indication			
S: Yeah.				
L: At the end of the...				
S: \Avenue Palace.				
L: Palace Avenue?	confirmation request			The speaker kept telling me to go to the Monument, so I thought I must have a monument in my map as well. Therefore, I kept looking for a monument in my own map but could only find a statue. I did think that the Statue could be the Monument but I wanted to try first see if I could find the Monument as the one in the speaker's map. In the end, I have to give up
S: Yeah.				
L: There is a monument?	confirmation request			
S: Yeah, at the end is the Monument.				
L: Eh, I just can see Statue. Is, is the same?	confirmation indication & request			
S: No, it isn't.				
L: You mean the end of the Palace Avenue?	confirmation request			
S: Yeah.				
L: Eh, right hand side or left hand side?	clarification request			
S: Can you repeat it?				
L: Eh, I mean in the Palace Avenue,				
S: \Yeah.				
L: the Monument is in the right hand or in the left hand?	clarification request			
S: When, uh, the Monument, uh, at the Palace Avenue, but no at the Palace Avenue. It is opposite, eh, end of,				

is on the right of the road which is, uh, which is, uh, cross the Palace Avenue.				because there was no monument in my map. Then I asked the speaker if the Monument in his map could be statue in my map, but he didn't give me any positive answer so I was stuck for a while and didn't know what to do apart from waiting for further instruction. Finally I asked the speaker again if the Statue in front of me was the Monument, this time the speaker gave a negative answer. When asked the speaker if the Statue was the same as the Monument, had the reply been 'I don't know' instead of 'no', I could have tried again with the speaker in order to decide if the Statue was the same as the Monument. We were stuck there, then I thought I had to change my question a bit by asking him if the Monument was on the right hand or the left but the speaker said that it was neither on my right nor my left and it was not in front of me, so I think the last
L: The...mmm...eh, can you see a statue?	confirmation request			
S: Statue?				
L: Yes.	confirmation indication			
S: No, I haven't.				
L: So, you mean, eh, in the end of Palace Avenue?	confirmation request			
S: Yeah.				
L: I can see...eh...I can see, what can I see in the end of Palace Avenue?	backtracking			
S: You haven't seen anything?				
L: Eh, yes, could you repeat, eh, what can I see, mmm, at the end of Palace Avenue?	backtracking			
S: It is a monument.				
L: Monument.	confirmation indication			
S: Monument.				
L: A monument? What, eh...at end of Palace Avenue.	confirmation request & indication			
S: Yeah.				
L: Eh, in the, in the right hand, right hand side of Palace or in the left hand side of Palace? (Hand moving from left to right and vice versa.)	clarification request			
S: I beg your pardon?				
L: Eh, I mean the, eh, Mon, Monument,				
S: \Yeah.				
L: is in the left hand side of Palace or in the right hand side of the Palace?	clarification request			
S: So, wh, which...				
L: Do you understand?	confirmation request			
S: You are, uh, you cannot see the Palace? Okay?				
L: Yes, I see the Palace.	confirmation indication			
S: Which is on the right hand of Palace Avenue, okay?				
L: You, you mean the Palace is in the...				
S: \Yes.				

L: in, in the Palace in the middle of Palace Avenue, huh?	confirmation request			resort was to go back to the Palace and started all over again as I might have made a mistake somewhere. However, we did not get very far either so I finally had to assume the Statue was the Monument.
S: Yes, the palace is, uh, on the right hand of the Palace Avenue.				
L: Hmhm.	comprehension indication			
S: You will, eh, return, eh, back.				
L: Hmhm.	comprehension indication			
S: And you will go straight on to Palace Avenue.				
L: Hmhm.	comprehension indication			
S: Okay?				
L: Hmhm.	confirmation indication			
S: When at the end of Palace Avenue,				
L: \Hmhm.	confirmation indication			
S: of the end of Palace Avenue, there is a monument (silence). When, when, you, uh, have already been, uh, finished, the Palace Avenue. In front of you, there is a monument.				
L: Em, em, could you keep on saying? (Hand moving from Palace Avenue to statue and vice versa.)	request for new information			
S: You mean I have to repeat the...?				
L: Eh, I, I don't know but you mean in the end, in the end is in which end, in the, which which, which, which end in the east or in the west, I mean, the end?	clarification request			
S: Eh...				
L: You go, eh, Palace Avenue, eh, it is, eh, in the Avenue, the Palace Avenue had two end, one in the east, one in the west, eh, I don't know you mean the end, mmm, which direction?	clarification request			
S: Yeah, uh...(silence) so, I, I don't know whether it is in the west because I haven't, uh, north, west in my map, too. Uh, the Monument.				
L: \Hmhm.	comprehension indication			
S: \opposite, opposite of the Monument, there is, there is a Museum of Revolution. Can you see it? Can you find it?		unacknowledged problem		
L: Yes, yes.	comprehension indication			
S: Did you find the Monument?				

L: Museum (pronounced as [miunim]). I can find the Museum of the Revolution.	response & confirmation indication			
S: Yeah, so...				
L: In my, in my map, there is a statue.	initiation			
S: I...this monument is a circle. Can you find it in...?		unacknow-ledged problem		
L: Eh, I can find, eh, a statue in front of, eh, Museum of Revolution (hand moving from the Museum to the Statue and vice versa.)	confirmation indication			
S: Yeah, on the left of the Statue, is there any monument?				
L: On the left of the Museum?	confirmation request			
S: Yeah.				
L: On the left of the Museum of the Revolution, no!	confirmation indication			
S: So...(silence).				
L: So, may be, may be the Monument is the same as the Statue?	confirmation request			
S: I don't know. In my map, I have the, a capital 'M' with circle.		respon-sibility abandoned		
L: And the name, all right, may be it is a statue. So...	confirmation indication			
S: \I don't know. Is it opposite the Museum of Revolution?				
L: Statue...statue in your map? So...the next?	confirmation request & request for new information		solved by listener's assumption	
S: The next, em, when, em, you go at the end of the Palace Avenue. You will turn on your right.		unacknow-ledged problem		

GL1 and his partner spent a long time on trying to find the Monument or the Statue on the listener's map. Apart from GL1's explanation of his problem, it also appears that GL1 had concentrated so hard on trying to establish whether he had the Monument on his map, as he said in his interview, that he had completely

missed or perhaps did not understand the speaker's instruction "return back" (Speaker's Turn 3). The speaker asked him to "return back" again at Turn 27, although GL1 gave an indication of comprehension - "Hmhm" - he had obviously not understood the instruction, since he kept on asking towards which end he should be going. It might have been easier if directions had been used. However, as the speaker said that he had no directions on his map, GL1's suggestion of using the directions was turned down. The negotiation went on but without much success as the speaker did not seem willing to take his partner's world into account. Eventually, GL1 had to assume that the Monument was the same as the Statue and his partner seemed to be happy to abandon the problem and go on to the next stretch of route.

Extract (3): At Fish Market

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: You will see, uh, the Fish Market.				
L: Fish Market? You mean, eh, Palace Avenue, I turn right?	confirmation request			
S: Yeah.				
L: Then turn left?	confirmation request			
S: Yeah.				
L: I can find a fish market?	confirmation request			I was getting confused with the directions

S: Yeah, yes. L: And right hand? S: Yes. L: In front? S: Yeah. Okay, when you see it, you will go straight on at the Progress Street. L: See? S: (Raising his voice) After that, you will go straight on at Progress Street, Progress Street. **(Turn 7)** L: Eh, eh, at now I am in the Market. S: Yes. L: Then how do I go? Which direction? S: This is the Market, it is, uh, opposite the seashore, it is at the seashore. L: Eh? S: Sea, yes, yeah. At the seashore, there is a fish market. L: Yeah. S: Okay? L: Yes.	confirmation request confirmation request clarification request confirmation indication clarification request clarification request confirmation indication confirmation indication		solved by negotiation	so I had to stop and thought for a while before moving on.

GL1 took the initiative by confirming with the speaker the directions for the Fish Market. At some points, i.e. Speaker's Turn 7, the speaker sounded slightly irritated as he had raised his voice towards GL1. Nonetheless, they managed to negotiate the location.

Extract (4): Finding and getting out of the Silk Mill

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
L: And in the left hand side, I can see a factory?	confirmation request	unacknowledged problem		There was not much problem here. I was told to turn back and turn right into a street after getting out of the Museum. There was no other building apart from the Factory at the bottom of the map so I just took the Factory for Silk Mill. I couldn't hear clearly what the speaker was talking about so I stopped there on the road in front of the Factory and waited for further instruction to be sure which way I should be taking.
S: At, you will see, you will turn, you will turn right at the, on your left hand is the Silk Mill. Something like that, but...**(Turn 1)**				
L: \Yeah.	confirmation indication			
S: Did you find it?			solved by GL1's assumption	
L: Yes, in the left hand side.	confirmation indication			
S: When you see it, you will go up. Second turn on your right, on your left, you are at Nations Road.				
L: Eh, Nation...You mean when I see the Factory?	confirmation request			
S: Yeah.				
L: Then how do I go...how do I go?	clarification request			
S: You will go, uh, on your right, on your left, uh, straight on to the other road, uh, cross the Progress Street. **(Turn 5)**				
L: Cross? I, I mean cross, cross the Progress Street?	clarification & confirmation requests			
S: Progress Street.				
L: And how do I go?	request for new information			
S: And you will find the Nations Road.				
L: Nations Road?	confirmation request			
S: Yeah, okay?				
L: Yeah.	confirmation indication			
S: Yeah, you turn left.				
L: Hmhm, turn left?	confirmation request			
S: At the first step of the right, uh, you will again the Hotel, that' all.				
L: Yeah, hotel. That's all?	confirmation indication & request		solved by negotiation	
S: Yeah, that's all!				

In the above extract, at Speaker's Turn 1, despite GL1's confirmation request to his partner about seeing the factory, his partner ignored the problem and went on to tell GL1 what he should have found in his map. Further, at Speaker's Turn 5, the speaker gave somewhat confusing directions as he first told GL1 to turn right and then left. Perhaps it was due to this confusion that GL1 said in his interview that he could not hear clearly what the speaker had told him. Nonetheless, they eventually solved their problem by negotiation.

In the above extracts, it is only in extracts (3) and (4) that the problem points were solved by genuine negotiation. GL1's speaker is unable to take his partner's world into account and tries to solve their problems from that aspect. GL1 made a good attempt at using clarification or confirmation requests; however, in his production of comprehension indications, it is open to doubt whether these indications really did signal comprehension.

Test Task Two - Marathon

Extract (5): Finding the right entrance to the Park

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: In your map, uh, did you, uh, the gate, uh, we go in the Park?				
L: Eh, is...eh...sorry?	clarification request			
S: It is, it on the west.				
L: On a west, yes.	confirmation indication			
S: Yeah. Do you know, uh, which one, uh, of this, this, of this gate, is, eh, the gate, uh...				
L: The gate? You mean in Wester Road? Eh...in the Wester Road or Easter? Easter or Wester? The gate, mmm, in the west or easter?	clarification & confirmation requests			
S: The gate, uh, is, uh, on the west of the Park.				
L: West of the map.	confirmation request			
S: Yeah.				
L: West of the map (repeating softly). In my map I have a, uh, Wester Road and the, uh, Easter Avenue.	confirmation indication & initiation			
S: Yes, it is, uh, at the west				
L: \Hmhm.	comprehension indication			
S: \road. Do you find it?				
L: I can find a west, the west road. But there, there are two gate.	confirmation indication & initiation			
S: Two gate? Three gate?				
L: Oh!	comprehension indication			
S: So, uh...you will use, uh, uh, the gate which is, uh...mmm, have you got the south the way in your map? **(Turn 9)**				
L: South...?	clarification request			There were several gates in West Road. At first, the speaker told me to find one of the
S: South Way!				
L: South Way? Yeah, yes. You mean, uh, I can find a South Way under the West Road?	confirmation request & indication			

S: Okay, so, you imagine that you are the South Way, okay? **(Turn 11)**		arbitrary solution attempted		gates to go into the Park from West Road, Then I was told later to find South Way, so I was not sure if the gate from which I entered was at South Way or West Road. Thus, I hesitated between those two roads and had to ask for more direction. When I asked the speaker if I should go into the Park from West Road or South Way, I didn't really get an answer from him.
L: Hmhm, all right.	confirmation indication			
S: So, you, you take the first, uh, turn on you, uh, on your right in West Road, okay?				
L: Eh...oh, you mean on my right, uh, the...West Road and the...?	confirmation request			
S: West Road!				
L: Yeah.	confirmation indication			
S: Okay?				
L: Hmhm.	confirmation indication			
S: So the first gate which, uh, uh, we find on your right is the gate, uh, it was, uh, you will use to go into the Park, okay?				
L: Eh, you mean the gate, in, in the Wester Road or South, South Way in which, in which? **(Turn 15)**	clarification request			
S: In my map, you are in, uh, at South Way, okay? **(Turn 16)**		sender's world solution attempted		
L: South...in, in the South Way?	confirmation request			
S: Yeah.				
L: And, uh...				
S: \You go straight on to South Way,				
L: \Hmhm.	comprehension indication			
S: \and turn right at the West Road, okay?				
L: All right.	confirmation indication			
S: Your first gate,				
L: \Yeah, huhuh.	comprehension indication			
S: \which is on you, on your right.				
L: Huhuh.	comprehension indication			
S: This gate which will, uh, which will, you will, uh, you will go into the Park, okay?				
L: All right.	confirmation indication		solved by negotiation	

In the above extract, at Speaker's Turn 9, the speaker suddenly changed his strategy by asking GL1 if he had a South Way in his map without even finishing what he had intended to say. Thus, this caused some confusion to GL1 as he became unsure as to which way to go. At Turn 11, the speaker tried to solve the problem by asking his partner to imagine himself there. GL1 seemed to have understood, as he gave a comprehension indication signal "Hmhm, all right". However, as we move down to Listener's Turn 15, GL1 showed that he was still not sure if he should be at South Way or West Road. The speaker (Turn 16) then forced his partner to take his world into account by stating that GL1 should be at South Way according to his own map. After a prolonged negotiation, GL1 managed to find his way into the Park.

Extract (6): At the nursery

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: \and, uh, you will, uh, and then you will be in a, in a cross road, okay? In front, you will see a nursery.				
L: See what?	clarification request			
S: A nursery, nursery.				
L: N...nursery, nursery. Eh,,,what is nurse, nursery?	clarification request			
S: Nursery. N-U-R-S-E-R-Y. **(Turn 3)**		unacknowledged problem		
L: In, in front of me?	confirmation request			
S: Yeah, opposite of you, you will see a nursery.				
L: All right, my map don't have, my, my map don't have nursery. But I think, I can, I...	confirmation indication		solved by listener's assumption	I didn't have nursery on my map but according to the speaker's instruction, the empty box in front of me should be the nursery. However, I was not quite definite about it. Afterwards, the speaker told me to turn left at the cross road. I wanted more instructions so I asked from more and was told there was a football field. At the time of doing the task, I just couldn't find a football field on my map.
S: Okay, so you will go, uh, you will take, you will go on the right.				
L: All right.	comprehension indication			
S: Okay?				
L: All right.	confirmation indication			
S: And, uh, you will keep straight on,				
L: \Hmhm.	comprehension indication			
S: \uh, until, uh, you find, uh, another cross road.				
L: Yes, yes.	comprehension indication			
S: In this cross road, you will go, uh, on your left.				
L: On my left?	confirmation request			
S: Yeah.				
L: I think I can go on my right or straight up or left but I turn left, right?	confirmation request			

S: Okay L: All right.	confirmation indication			
S: So, you are, uh, opposite the, the nursery, okay?				
L: All right.	confirmation indication			
S: Okay?				
L: Hmhm.	comprehension indication			
S: And,uh, you will keep your way.				
L: Hmhm.	confirmation indication			
S: Em...(silence) pass to the football ground, okay?				
L: Pass to the...football, football ground. My map don't have football, football...	confirmation indication			
S: Have in your map, is there anything opposite the tennis court?				
L: Oppo...op..ten, tennis court?	confirmation request			
S: Yeah.				
L: Eh, it is a square but don't, don't, uh, mention what, what is it.	response			
S: Okay, this is, uh, football, uh, ground, okay?		arbitrary solution suggested		
L: All right, football. **(Turn 18)**	confirmation indication			
S: It is a rectangle.				
L: All right. **(Turn 19)**	comprehension indication		solved by speaker's assumption	

When GL1 tried to find the nursery and asked his partner what a nursery was. The speaker, however, ignored or failed to understand GL1's question, so instead of providing an explanation, he went ahead and spelt the word out for GL1 at Turn 3. It was not until GL1 came for the interview that one could learn that he actually did not realise that a football field was there, even though at Listener's Turns 18 and 19, he had apparently given confirmation of the football field (Turn 18) and gave a comprehension indication signal (Turn 19) for the speaker to move ahead. The football field problem was finally 'solved' when the speaker arbitrarily decided

that the 'square' there was the football field and GL1 was happy with his partner's decision without posing more questions.

Extract (7): At the cross road near the nursery

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
L: So let's back to, uh, the last back cross road, all right, let's, uh, back, let's go back to la...la...cross road. You mean I must turn left or turn right?	backtracking & confirmation request			I wanted the speaker to repeat the directions again because I was confused if I should have turned right or left, so I went back to the cross road and started all over again.
S: You, you are opposite the nursery, okay? It, there was, uh, have a stop, okay?				
L: Eh, my map, there is no nursery in my map. Em...but I can see the tennis court and the, **(Turn 2)**	confirmation indication			
S: \So...				
L: \uh, football court, football court.	confirmation indication			
S: Okay, so, you go, uh, you pass the tennis court and then you turn, uh, you turn on your right, okay?				
L: Yes, and then another cross road, right? When I...	confirmation request			
S: \and you find a cross road.				
L: Yeah.	comprehension indication			
S: Okay?				
L: Yeah, yeah.	confirmation indication		solved by negotiation	
S: You go, uh, you go on your right road.				
L: Right.	confirmation indication			

S: And you will find the next cross road,				
L: \Yes.	comprehension indication			
S: so, uh, uh, you take, the, the left road, okay?				
L: Take the left?	confirmation request			
S: The left road.				
L: Eh...do you see a...do you see Park Club?	confirmation request			I was not sure if the speaker wanted me to turn right or left at the cross road there so I went back to the Park Club and asked for more directions.
S: No! In, in which, in which side...of the road.? **(Turn 11)**			listener's world acknowledged	
L: \In...because, uh, I have three cross road. One very near tennis court. You, you, you ask me to turn right, right? And the, the second cross road, uh, if I turn right, I will see the foot, football court beside me, but if I turn left, I, I, I will far away from the football court.	initiation & confirmation request			
S: Eh...can you repeat, uh, of your, uh,				
L: \All right.	confirmation indication			
S: \ of your tour, uh, from the, uh, from the start? **(Turn 13)**		backtracking suggested		
L: Now I come the, uh, but my...my left hand side is tennis court and my right hand side is football court.	confirmation indication			
S: Okay.				
L: And, uh, there is a cross, so I				
S: \Yes.				
L: \turn right.	confirmation indication			
S: Okay.				
L: Turn right to, to next cross,				
S: \Yeah.				
L: \next cross, uh, in this cross, my right hand side is, uh, the football court.	confirmation indication			

S: Okay, okay. L: So I turn right or left? S: You keep, you keep right. L: Keep... S: You mean, you take the, the right, the right road. L: All, all right, yes. Then, then I met another cross. S: Okay, and you take the left road. L: All right. S: Okay? L: All right.	clarification request comprehension & confirmation indication comprehension indication confirmation indication		solved by negotiation	

At Listener's Turn 2, although GL1 again confirmed to the speaker that he did not have nursery on his map, the problem again was not recognised by either party, as in the previous extract. The reason was possibly the fact that GL1 had assumed that, as he said in his interview, the empty box on his map was the nursery. Despite his uncertainty about it, he did not actually insist on clearing up his doubts. Perhaps from previous experience, GL1's speaker appeared to try to solve the communication problem by taking his partner's world into account: at Turn 11, he asked GL1 on which side of the road was the Park Club. Further, at Turn 13, he suggested GL1 should repeat his tour in order to be sure that they were on the right track. This global backtracking strategy of the speaker gave GL1 a chance to confirm whether that stretch of route was drawn correctly.

Extract (8): At the rectangular swimming pool

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
L: All right, I can see in my right hand side, there is a pool(pronounced as [puɚr]).	initiation			
S: I beg your, I beg your pardon?				
L: Pool!	confirmation indication			
S: A swimming pool?				
L: P-O-O-L. Now, in my right hand side, I can see a pool, maybe swimming pool, I, I don't know.	confirmation indication			As I turned into the road, I wanted to see if I had taken the right route so I told the speaker that the 'pool' was on my right hand side, but then the speaker replied that he has a 'swimming bath' on his right. I was not sure if we were referring to the same thing.
S: It, on your right hand?				
L: Right hand side.	confirmation indication			
S: Can...mmm, can you see, uh, right hand a swimming, a swimming baths?				
L: Swim, swimming...?	clarification request			
S: Baths.				
L: Bus?	confirmation request			
S: Baths.				
L: How to spell 'bus'? **(Turn 7)**	clarification request			
S: B-A-T-H-S! **(Turn 8)**				
L: B-A-T-H?	confirmation request			
S: Yes! Maybe.				
L: Eh...	clarification request			
S: So...				
L: \in my right hand side now.	confirmation indication			
S: On your right hand?				
L: Yes, in my right hand.	confirmation indication			
S: Okay, so, you go straight on.				
L: Huhuh.	comprehension indication		solved by listener's assumption	
S: Eh...take the second turn, uh, on the right.				

L: Turn right? S: Yeah. L: Yes and, uh, this, the bath (pronounced as [bas]) is still in my right hand side, right? **(Turn 14)** S: I don't know, I haven't the, anything like this, uh, uh, in my map. I don't know, so... L: Huhuh.	confirmation request confirmation request comprehension indication	responsibility abandoned	solved by listener's assumption	

In the above extract, GL1 failed to recognise the word 'bath' and thus had to resort to spelling at Turn 7. However, the speaker (Turn 8), apart from saying "yes", he added "maybe". This caused GL1 to hesitate for a while, apparently while he was thinking of what to ask next. At Listener's Turn 14, GL1's incorrect pronunciation of the word 'bath' caused a breakdown; the speaker simply then gave up on the problem. The problem was eventually solved by GL1's assumption that the box on his right hand side was the 'swimming bath'.

Extract (9): At the snacks/cafe and the lake

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: and then the first turn on your left, okay? L: Eh, cafe? S: Yes. L: A snack. S: Yeah, so you will, uh, you will go pass the cafe and (silence) uh...and you will give your, your direction straight on.	confirmation request confirmation indication	sender's world acknowledged		

L: Now, I pa...I pass the cafe and, uh, how do I do? S: And you will keep your direction. You, when you, you, you are, uh, when you turn left L: \Mmm. S: \at the, at the cafe. L: Hmhm. S: Okay? You will see, uh, you will go pass the cafe. L: Hmhm. S: And, uh, you will find, uh, in front of you a lake. L: A, a ma...? S: A lake, lake! L: Eh, how to spell? S: L-A-K-E. L: M-, M-A-K-E! S: L-, L-, L-A, L-! L: M-! M-A-K-E. S: Lake! L-! L-! L: M-! S: Lake! L: Lai? S: Do you know? Yeah, L-. L: Eh...what is the meaning of, uh...? S: of lake? It is an area full of water inside. L: All right, lake, lake!	clarification request comprehension indication comprehension indication comprehension indication clarification request clarification request confirmation indication confirmation indication confirmation indication confirmation request clarification request comprehension indication		solved by negotiation	I couldn't understand the speaker's pronunciation of 'lake', so I asked him to spell it for me but still couldn't make it out. Therefore, I tried to ask for the meaning of the word so I could know what he was referring to.

In the above extract, the participants at first tried to solve the problem with the help of spelling. This did not lead them anywhere, perhaps due to 'acoustic filtering', with GL1's native language, Mandarin, acting as a filter making it

difficult for him to hear and identify new or unfamiliar sounds in his target language. In Mandarin, initial /l/ is found followed by high and low vowels but not by a mid vowel as in the word 'lake' (/leɪk/). In fact, extract (8) illustrates another example of 'acoustic filtering' as GL1 misses altogether the /θ/ sound, as which does not exist in Mandarin or Cantonese. Thus, when a Chinese speaker of English comes across this voiceless dental /θ/ or the voiced dental /ð/, they are usually replaced by a voiceless fricative /f/ or sometimes a voiceless sibilant /s/ as in GL1's case. Finally, GL1 asked the speaker for the meaning of 'lake' and this time the speaker was able to give him an answer which solved the problem.

Extract (10): Running round the lake

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: So, you will go, uh, you will go, uh, around the lake.				
L: Yes, which, which side...around the lake?	clarification request			I was told to go around the lake, so I had to find out if I had to go around it on its left or on its right.
S: Right side, uh, on the right side. **(Turn 2)**				
L: You mean on...?	confirmation request			
S: On your right side.				
L: You mean left side? You mean, uh, clockwise or counter clockwise?	clarification & confirmation requests			The speaker told me to find a pool when I finished half circling round the lake. I couldn't find the pool so I thought I might have been running on the wrong path or direction. Therefore, I had to ask the speaker again if I should run round the lake on its left or on its right. I thought at that time 'left' and 'right' could be confusing, so I used 'clockwise' and 'anti-clockwise' instead.
S: I beg your pardon?	clarification request			
L: Eh, clockwise, you mean, uh, as the clock, clockwise or counter clockwise?				
S: No, the op...the opposite. **(Turn 5)**				
L: All right, all right, counter clock, clockwise. All right, then I around the lake.	confirmation indication			
S: Yeah, and, uh, you will take, you will turn left on your third cross road. On the third cross road. **(Turn 6)**				
L: On the third,third?	confirmation request			
S: Yes.				
L: Third cross road?	confirmation request			
S: Yes.				
L: Mmm...	clarification request			
S: You will, you will, uh, you will pass the half round of the lake, the half circle...and when you turn left, you will see in front of you a pool. **(Turn 9)**				

L: But I can, I cannot see, uh, now I, I circle the lake, all right. And, uh, about half circle. There...I turn, turn right at the circle of left and, uh, I don't know when do I...	confirmation indication & clarification request			
S: You go, you go round the lake.				
L: Yes.	comprehension indication			
S: Eh, the op...the opposite, uh, of, uh, a clock, okay?				
L: Yes.	confirmation indication			
S: Okay?				
L: Around the lake, how long do I around?	clarification request			
S: How long?				
L: Yes.	confirmation indication			
S: You will pass, the, uh, two cross road.				
L: Two cross?	confirmation request			
S: Cross roads! You will pass two paths with end at this, uh, at this part where do I now.				
L: And, uh, and, uh...				
S: So...				
L: \Hmhm.	confirmation request			
S: \Let's go round the lake, okay?				
L: Hmhm.	comprehension indication			
S: So you, you go round the lake, okay?				
L: Hmhm.	comprehension indication			
S: Eh, you will see on your right a path.				
L: A path (pronounced as [pas])? **(Turn 19)**	confirmation request			
S: A path, path!				
L: All right.	comprehension indication			
S: Okay, you, you will not, uh, turn right. You will keep, uh, your direction round the lake, okay?				
L: Hmhm.	confirmation indication			

S: You will find a second path.				
L: A second path? All...and then?	confirmation request & request for new information			
S: And...you will keep round the lake and then you will turn left.				
L: Turn left?	confirmation request			
S: Turn left. Yes, at the third path.				
L: At the, th...third path, turn left?	confirmation request			After running half round the lake, I was told to run into a third path which I thought I did until I was told that in front of me was a pool, a circle. I couldn't find the round pool at first, then I saw a circle with the pattern of waves in it so I thought that might be the pool that the speaker was talking about.
S: Can you find it?				
L: All right.	confirmation indication			
S: Okay, you will, uh, you will in front of you, you will see a pool. Can you see a pool?				
L: A pool? In my right hand side?	confirmation request			
S: No, in front of you.				
L: In front of me.	confirmation request			
S: When you turn, when you, when you turn, oh, sorry! You will turn right.				
L: Turn right?	confirmation request			
S: You will turn right.				
L: Hmhm.	comprehension indication			
S: And when you turn right, in front of you, you will see a pool. In my map, it is a circle.				
L: So, uh, I around the lake and, uh, when do I turn right?	clarification request			
S: Uh, can you repeat?				
L: Eh, when I around, circle the lake, when do I turn right?	clarification request			
S: You will, you will, uh, do half round of the lake, only the half round of the lake, okay?				
L: Hmhm.	confirmation indication			
S: And you will turn right.				
L: When, when do I turn right?	clarification request			
S: At the third, at the third path which you will find as you go around the lake...at the third.				

L: The third? (silence) So, uh...when I turn right, I don't circle the lake again, right? S: No. L: I didn't circle the lake? S: I beg your pardon? L: When I turn right, S: \Yeah. L: uh, am I leave the lake, am I..., eh, when I turn right, I don't, I don't circle the lake again, right? S: No. L: Or I an still circle, I am still circle in the lake? S: When you, when you turn, eh...right, L: \Hmhm. S: you will turn, uh, we can go through the lake. L: \Hmhm. S: Okay? L: All right.	confirmation request confirmation request confirmation request confirmation request comprehension indication comprehension indication confirmation indication		solved by GL1 looking carefully	

In the above extract, GL1 was trying to ask for more information about which way he should go around the lake, but the information provided did not appear to be sufficient (Speaker's Turns 2 and 5) for GL1 to find his way round. On the other hand, at Speaker's Turns 6 and 9, the information provided was obviously too much for GL1 to take in and understand what he should be doing next. Moreover, as GL1 was not aware of the existence of a pool, more negotiation was necessary to know how far one had to go around the lake. At Listener's Turn 19, another possible example of 'acoustic filtering' can be found as GL1 pronounced 'path' as

[pas] and his partner had to correct him. The problem was finally solved by GL1, when he looked carefully and found a place with what he recognised as wave patterns on it; he knew then that it was the round pool.

Extract (11): Running round the round pool

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: Okay, and, uh, in front of you, you will, uh, you will, uh, see a pool.				
L: Hmhm. **(Turn 2)**	comprehension indication			
S: Did you see it?				
L: My map (laughing) have no, no, have pool, **(Turn 3)**	confirmation indication			
S: Can, can you anything like, like a circle?				
L: Just a circle here.	confirmation indication			
S: Yeah, in front of you.				
L: Hmhm.	confirmation indication			
S: Okay, so you will go around the circle,				
L: \Hmhm.	comprehension indication			
S: but, uh, of the, of the, of the left side.				
L: \Hmhm.	comprehension indication			
S: okay?				
L: Hmhm, you mean...I turn left or turn right?	clarification request			
S: You will turn left.				
L: Turn left? All right, you mean...uh...all right, turn left. The same...direction as the clock, right?	confirmation request & indication			
S: Okay, and, uh, you will, uh, you will took half round of this, uh, pool, okay?				

L: Hmhm. S: It's okay?	confirmation indication			
L: Yes, uh, you mean I circle the...circle the...yes, on the left, on the left. S: When you, when you, you are at the side of the pool, you will go round this pool,	confirmation indication			
L: \Hmhm. S: \of the left side, okay?	comprehension indication			
L: Hmhm. S: And, uh, you will, uh, you will took the half, the half of a circle, okay?	confirmation indication			
L: Uh, sorry? S: And, uh, you will, you will took the half of the circle of this pool.	clarification request			I stopped because I was not sure how far I had to go round the pool before I got away from it. I was sure I was at the right direction but was not sure from which path I had to go out.
L: The half S: \Yeah	confirmation indication			
L: of this pool? S: Yes.	confirmation request			
L: You mean circle half circle? S: Half circle.	confirmation request			
L: And then?	request for new information		solved by negotiation	

In the above extract, at Listener's Turn 2, GL1 gave a comprehension signal when he was told by his partner that he would see a pool in front of him. However, when he was asked if he did actually see the pool, he then answered that his map had no pool (Turn 3). Thus, GL1's 'hmhm' at Turn 2 was an inappropriate comprehension indication signal. Perhaps it was intended to acknowledge the receipt of information. The speaker then went further on to tell his partner how far he had to circle the pool.

Extract (12): At the finishing point

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: there is a, uh, grass area.				
L: Grass?	confirmation request			
S: Area, area.				
L: Grass area? On which side?	confirmation & clarification requests			
S: On your right...hand.				
L: On my right hand side? On my...	confirmation request			
S: Okay?				
L: Hmhm.	confirmation indication			
S: And, uh, in this area is the finish.				
L: Finish?	confirmation request			
S: Yeah.				
L: And, uh, now which road I am now? Now I am in which road or in the Park? When I finish, uh, where am I? Am I in South Road? Am I in South Way or I am in, in, in...	clarification & confirmation requests			
S: You are in the Park.				
L: In the Park?	confirmation request			The speaker told me that the finishing point was in the Park, so I was pretty sure that the path leading to the gate was not the one I supposed to take. I knew that the path I took was correct but I didn't expect to finish my running on the grass as I had been running on paths.
S: Okay?				
L: All right. You mean, uh, where the finish in the grass, in the grass?	confirmation indication & request			
S: In the grass, yes.				
L: In the grass, all right.	confirmation indication		solved by negotiation	

In extract (12), GL1 was completely taken by surprise, (as he said in his interview), that the finishing point was on the grass. He had been running all along on the paths and had anticipated finishing on a path, but obviously, his expectation

was not realised when the marathon finished on the grass.

In this second task, most problems were solved by negotiation. The speaker showed examples of taking his partner's world into account instead of simply feeding his partner whatever information he had. Again, as in the previous task, there are examples of GL1 giving inappropriate comprehension indications.

Test Task Three - Silver Island

Extract (13): At the desert

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: and...when, uh, you find another beach there, okay?				
L: I go north but I saw, I see a desert (pronounced as [dizet]). Do you have it?	initiation & confirmation request	unacknowledged problem		I was told to go north but was not sure if I had to walk into the desert since there were no marked paths or roads.
S: You go, you go north. **(Turn 1)**				
L: Yes, I see a desert.	confirmation indication			
S: Near, near the seashore, were you? **(Turn 2)**				
L: Near the seashore?	confirmation request			
S: Seashore, yeah, near, near the beach.				
L: Near the beach, all right, another bay.	confirmation indication		solved by negotiation	

In the above extract, despite GL1 stating twice that he saw a desert and asking his partner whether he also had it on his map, his partner simply ignored his question and the information GL1 provided (Turns 1 and 2), since there was no desert in the speaker's map version. Instead, GL1's partner kept asking him if he was "near the shore" and they seemed to succeed in solving the problem by

negotiation.

Extract (14): At Surf Island

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: When you, you will stop at opposite the, the Surf Island beach.				
L: Yes.	comprehension indication			I waited there for the speaker to give me further instructions. I had to know whether I should keep on going to the north along the coast or I had to turn at some point.
S: Okay? further instructions. I had to know whether				
L: Yes.	confirmation indication			
S: At the, uh, when you, you, uh...when you stop there, you will go, you will go north,				
L: \Hmhm.	comprehension indication			
S: \and you to northeast to, to pass between the two, uh, between the two mountains.				
L: All right.	comprehension indication			
S: Okay?				
L: Pass between the two mountains?	confirmation request			
S: Okay?				
L: All right.	confirmation indication		solved by negotiation	

In the above extract, GL1's partner used directions for the first time. This should make the whole task easier as the map of Silver Island has no marked paths or roads. GL1 stopped at some point to wait for further instruction from his partner and they were then able to negotiate their way out.

Extract (15): At the river with rapids

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: You will go, uh, on the south...to, to the south, uh...				
L: Of the tree.	confirmation indication			
S: dir...direction and, uh, until you find in front of you, you will see a, a small river.				
L: Small river?	confirmation request			
S: Yeah.				I thought the speaker said that I would see a river in front of me after I had gone south, so I went straight down to the south. Then the speaker told me to pass through the river and I could see two hills, so I realised that I had gone too far south and had to go back up a bit again.
L: I am here. I see a small river?	confirmation indication & request			
S: Yeah.				
L: \And the...				
S: \in front of you.				
L: All right.	comprehension indication			
S: Okay? Do you have it?				
L: Yes...go south and then...				
S: \Yeah				
L: \a small river.	confirmation indication			
S: Yeah.				
L: All right.	comprehension indication			
S: Un...until you find, uh, two small hills.				
L: Two small				
S: \Hills.				
L: \hill?	confirmation request			
S: Uh...these hills are on the...east side of the river, within the two lakes.				
L: Between I, I go, uh, between two small hill and then a lake?	confirmation request			
S: No.				
L: No?	confirmation request			
S: Just a minute, uh, now, uh, you pass through, uh, across the river, okay?				

L: Eh...when, when do I pass the river because the river is from north, to the south at the, at which point I pass the river?	clarification request			
S: Em...there is, uh, there are two lakes. It means your right, okay?				
L: Yes.	confirmation indication			
S: Uh, the small one is, uh, from the south, it's on the, it's on the north of the, of a bigger one, okay? The sma...small lake.				
L: Uh...but in my map, there is only one...only one lake.	confirmation indication			
S: \Okay.**(Turn 17)**		unacknowledged problem		
L: \and the...				
S: How many, how many rivers are there in your map?				
L: I just find...one lake. And in the south of lake, there are two small mountains and in the, eh, south of mountain, there are some trees.	response & initiation			
S: Okay, so you will, you will pass the river and you will go through, uh, you will go between the trees and the small mountain.**(Turn 19)**				
L: Between, uh, the two mountains and the tree?	confirmation request			
S: And the tree and you will stop there, and you will...okay?				
L: All right, all right.	confirmation indication		solved by negotiation	

GL1 was told by the speaker to go south and then he could see a river in front of him. On the videotape, GL1's disorientation was obvious as he went all the way down to the south, to the bottom of the map. He was told that he should be able to see a river in front of him, but he seemed at that moment was confused as to his orientation (see Appendix XXVI (iii): GL1's Silver Island route marking) as the river was on his left side if it was from a 'worm's eye view', i.e. taking the perspective of someone actually walking on the Island. On the other hand, the

river was on his right from a 'bird's eye view', i.e. taking the perspective of a map-reader reading the map. The speaker missed out any mention of the rapids on his map and simply told GL1 to cross the river by going between the trees and the small mountain (Speaker's Turn 19). So in the end, GL1 crossed the river at the wrong place. At Speaker's Turn 17, the speaker gave an inappropriate response, "okay", to GL1's statement that there was only one lake on his map. The speaker did not acknowledge this discrepancy in the number of lakes. However, the number of lakes did not seem to cause them a problem, as the speaker told his partner that he should go between the trees and the two mountains.

Extract (16): At the river on the east of the Island

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: Okay, you will, you will pass the river,				
L: \Pass the river.	confirmation indication			
S: from the, from the area where the river, uh, goes, uh, in the sea, okay?				
L: Eh...sor...sorry! When do I pass the river?	clarification request			I didn't know where to cross the river and didn't quite understand the speaker's instruction so I stopped to see if I could get further help from the speaker.
S: You will pass the river,				
L: \Huhuh.	comprehension indication			
S: \uh, from, uh, the river, uh, flows in, in the sea.				
L: All right, su...uh, in the connection of river and the sea.	confirmation indication			
S: Okay.				
L: Yes.	comprehension indication		solved by negotiation	

The participants had some problems in finding out where to cross the river. GL1 was able to use a clarification request to signal to the speaker that he needed

more information and they managed to solve it by negotiation.

Extract (17): At the range of the mountains

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: No, no, just a minute, you, you will, uh, you will go towards the mountains.				
L: Go through the mountains?	confirmation request			
S: No through,				
L: \Go?	clarification request			The speaker's instructions were rather confusing so I had to confirm with him about where to go.
S: \towards the mountain.				
L: Go towards? **(Turn 3)**	confirmation request			
S: Yeah, you will go, uh, uh, at, at, you are going, em, you will go eastern, okay? **(Turn 4)**				
L: Go easter?	confirmation request			
S: Yeah, and when you will find the mountain, you will stop there.				
L: All right, in front of me there are...in the east of me...there are five mountain, right?	confirmation request			
S: Yeah...there are five mountains, okay?				
L: Yes.	confirmation indication			
S: So you will walk, you will go to the second mountain if we, we measure there from the, from the upper, from the north...to...to the south.				
L: Uh, go...from the north to the south?	confirmation request			There was a range of mountains ahead of me and the speaker just told me to go to the mountain. I didn't know which second mountain he meant, it could be the one from the
S: No! Em...you will go to the second mountain,				
L: \Yes.	comprehension indication			
S: which is, uh, when, uh, we, we measure them				

L: \Yes. S: from the north side.	comprehension indication			north or the one down in the south.
L: All right. S: Okay?	comprehension indication			
L: All right. Then go through the mountain? **(Turn 11)** S: No through the mountain. When you go in front of this mountain, you will stop there.	confirmation indication & request			
L: All right. S: Okay?	comprehension indication		solved by negotiation	
L: All right, stop, stop in...I only to go through the mountain. S: No, no!	confirmation indication			
L: All right, just stop.	confirmation indication			

As said in his interview, GL1 found the speaker's instruction to go towards the mountains confusing. This could be because GL1 did not know the meaning of 'towards', as he kept on asking if he had to go 'through' the mountains. At Listener's Turn 3, though GL1 made a confirmation request of 'going towards', he was still unable to make out the meaning (Listener's Turn 11), he asked again if he had to go through the mountains. The speaker did not help much by telling GL1 to go east (Speaker's Turn 4); this could possibly further have misled GL1 into thinking that he had to go through the mountains until he asked again if he had to go through them. At that point, the speaker gave a negative answer which GL1 confirmed once again that he had to stop.

In this third test task, Silver Island, all the extracts taken from it are solved

by negotiation. Moreover, it is found that GL1 used fewer clarification requests. In fact, out of the 46 clarification requests that GL1 made in Tai Tu and Marathon, 40 concerned directions, i.e. which side (right/left) to go. Thus, it is not surprising to find that once directions were used, the number of clarification requests fell.

Further, as can be seen in the extracts, GL1 showed more certainty (and affirmation) in asking questions for information in his final task than he had in the previous two tasks.

Quantitatively speaking, GL1 was relatively consistent in using confirmation requests and indications throughout his map series. This can be seen in the above extracts; GL1 tried to repeat the speaker's (part of the) message or a word that was unknown to him in order to get confirmation from his partner. The difference between a confirmation request and a confirmation indication is when a confirmation request is used, the user may not be sure of the instruction or information that he has heard. However, in the use of confirmation indication, the user is sure of the instruction or information and simply wants to acknowledge the information received.

- LISTENER GL2

Test Task One - Tai Tu

Extract (1): Coming out from the Hotel

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: Hotel, yes, and, uh, first, you turn the right (pronounced as [lait]).				
L: Right?	confirmation request			
S: Turn the right.				
L: Ah, the left?	confirmation request			The speaker said 'right' but because of his accent, I thought it sounded like 'left'. I think it is a problem for all Japanese speakers of English, so I had to ask him to clarify it.
S: Yes.				
L: Wait, wait, the left?	confirmation request			
S: Turn the right, right.				
L: Oh, sorry, wait, wait, wait for me, what's your meaning of 'left', which have to be left...you mean the north or south?	clarification request			
S: Ah, the north.				
L: North.	confirmation indication		solved by negotiation	

In extract (1), GL2 had difficulty to understand the speaker because of his accent. English has a phonemic distinction between /r/ and /l/; Japanese only has one liquid phoneme /r/ which articulatorily appears to be like a tap or a lateralized tap (Bloch 1950). Phonetically speaking, this Japanese liquid is neither like the English retroflex approximant /r/ nor the lateral approximant /l/ (Henly and Sheldon 1986). In view of this, according to MacKain, Best and Strange (1981), Japanese speakers who have not been exposed to English, are not expected to perceive English /r/ and /l/ categorically. Although GL2's partner does speak English, the English /r/ and /l/ could still be likely to cause him pronunciation problem. They were stuck for a while with 'right' or 'left', only when GL2 used the directions 'north' or 'south', could they solve the problem.

Extract (2): At Beijing Road

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: So you walk around the Beijing Road.				
L: Uh, wait, wait...Beijing Road?	confirmation request			
S: Yes, one block.				
L: One, one block?	confirmation request			
S: Yes, and then you turn the left.				
L: The left?	confirmation request			I didn't hesitate, I was just waiting at the junction for the speaker to finish giving me instruction.

In extract (2), GL2 was seen on the videotape to hesitate at Beijing Road. It was not until he was interviewed that it emerged that he was simply waiting for a further instruction. Nonetheless, GL2 seemed to make good use of confirmation request in an attempt to obtain correct information from the speaker.

Extract (3): At the Palace

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: Yes, and in the middle of the, uh, blocks, base in your right, in your right side, uh, you can see a palace?				I was wondering if I should go into the Palace. However, I was not told to so I moved on.
L: Yes.	confirmation indication			
S: So second...second place is a palace.				
L: Yes.	comprehension indication		unsolved	

In the above extract, GL2 appeared to be hesitant at the Palace. Again, in the interview, it was revealed that he was waiting to be told if he had to enter the

Palace. When the speaker said "second place is a palace", he probably expected GL2 to know that he should visit the Palace. GL2 could have asked the speaker if he were to go into the Palace, but he did not, the problem was left unsolved as GL2 did not enter the Palace.

Extract (4): At the Statue/Monument

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: So you walk along the Palace Avenue and you can see a mountain.				I was told to go to a mountain but I could only find a sea, not a mountain on my map. Then I remember that the maps have some differences and moreover, since there was sea, there might be a mountain. Therefore, I took the Statue as where the mountain was since it was the only marked place at the end of Palace Avenue. I asked the speaker if I had to climb up the mountain but he just told me to be on the road which was in front of the mountain. I did think that the Museum of Revolution might have been the mountain that the speaker had referred to. The speaker might have mispronounced it but the Museum was not at the end of Palace Avenue, so I decided on the Statue.
L: Mountain, uh, wait a moment, you see the mountain.	confirmation request			
S: Yeah.				
L: Near the sea...you mean the mountain?	confirmation request			
S: Yes.				
L: Uh, okay...				
S: Can't find the mountain?				
L: Yeah, it's not here. Statue, statue is a mountain? Can I ask you? (Turning to the researcher who is videotaping and the researcher shakes her head) No? Okay, go ahead, please.	confirmation indication & request			
S: Yes, so you visit the...				
L: I visit?	confirmation request			
S: Yeah, you visit the mountain and after that, uh, you go to south.				
L: Mmm...after mountain, uh, is, uh, you mean, I can, uh, climb up the mountain or on on, on the road before the mountain?	clarification request			
S: Yeah, huhuh? I am not sure of the...		responsibility abandoned	solved by listener's assumption	
L: Just, just the root at the mountain?	confirmation request			
S: Yes, yes, yes.				

The speaker had misread the word 'monument' as 'mountain' on his map. However, as GL2 said that there was only a statue where the mountain was on his map, he simply assumed that the 'mountain' was the statue. The speaker was tongue-tied for a moment as GL2 asked him if he had to climb up the 'mountain', all he could answer was "I am not sure of the...". At that turn, he abandoned his responsibility as information supplier and left GL2 to cope with the problem.

Extract (5): Outside the Museum

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: and, uh, you walk the same, uh, street,				
L: \Mmm, yes.	comprehension indication			
S: about, uh, one block.				
L: Mmm.	comprehension indication			
S: That mean, uh, to east.				
L: Yes. Ah, pardon, to east? **(Turn 3)**	confirmation indication & request			
S: To east.				
L: To west or to east?	clarification request			The speaker told me to go east, that is to go back to where I had come from. I was surprised that I had to return because that happened earlier at the Palace as well. I thought it was unlikely to go back again.
S: To east.				
L: Wait, wait, wait, wait a moment, uh, go out, go out the Museum,				
S: Yes.				
L: and at the, at the same door.	confirmation indication			
S: Yes, same.				
L: Same door?	confirmation request			
S: Sorry?				

L: At the same entrance? S: Same en...?	confirmation request			
L: Same, I, uh, into the same gate? S: Ah, yes, same gate.	confirmation request			
L: Same gate, same gate in, uh, same gate out. S: Yes, yes.	confirmation indication	solved by negotiation		

As GL2 said in his interview, he was surprised when he was told to return to where he had come from when he got out of the Museum, as he had anticipated that he would go forward. Moreover, as this had happened before at the Palace, he had not expected to return by the same route. At Listener's Turn 3, we can see that GL2 first confirmed the direction that he had to turn and immediately realised that it was not the direction he had expected. He also tried to confirm with the speaker whether he had to come out of the same entrance as he had gone in or the entrance at Nations Road, to be sure he was on the right route.

Extract (6): Finding the Silk Mill

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: Yes, and you can see, uh, mill, mill...ah, no! Silk, silk, I don't know (laughing), huh! Silk Mill.				
L: What do you say?	clarification request			
S: Silk something?				
L: Milk something. What?	confirmation indication & clarification request			
S: Silk, silk something. On the, on your, your right, on your left hand.				

L: Mmm, left, yes, the Pagoda, yeah!	confirmation indication			I couldn't find the Silk Mill but then I saw Fragrant Lotus Pagoda. I told the speaker and he said it was not the place that I should go to so we had to go back to the Museum once again to confirm if I had been on the right route. The speaker then told me to go south after I turned right at the first junction. I went all the way don until he told me to find a silk mill which I thought for a second, sounded like 'milk' something. I could only find a factory there and I couldn't go further south as it was the end of the map, so finally, I decided to take the Factory as the Silk Mill but I forgot to go into the Factory and just turned round in front of it.
S: Uh, what? What can you see, huh?				
L: On, on my left?	confirmation request			
S: Yes.				
L: Yeah, there's a something, huh, look, look like fra...fragrant.	response			
S: Fragrant? Uh, no.				
L: No?	confirmation request			
S: Okay, let's, let's go back to the Museum. **(Turn 7)**		backtracking suggested		
L: Yes.	confirmation indication			
S: Uh...				
L: I enter go there, but I out				
S: \Yeah.				
L: \from the same door,				
S: \Yes.				
L: so now I am in, uh, in the, the Progress, Progress Street.	confirmation request			
S: \Progress Street.				
L: Yeah.	comprehension indication			
S: And...				
L: And, uh, return to the...east.	confirmation indication			
S: Yes, about one block.				
L: \Return to the east, about one block, yeah?	confirmation request			
S: Yeah, and, uh, at the corner, uh, you turn the south.				
L: South?	confirmation request			
S: South.				
L: There's almost no way to go. Okay, what's next? **(Turn15)**	initiation & request for new information			
S: You can...				
L: Go on, turn, turn the south.	confirmation indication			
S: Yes.				
L: At the corner at the south?	confirmation request			

S: Yeah. You cannot?				
L: Yeah, huh, huh, I almost cannot. Uh, just...uh, what's next?	confirmation indication & request for new information			
S: Uh, okay, so...turn the south, uh, you can find the, uh, silk silk, I'm not sure...				
L: Silk?	confirmation request			
S: Silk, yeah, silk something.				
L: Pardon, pardon, turn the south and I find 'silk'?	confirmation request			
S: Yes.				
L: You mean...				
S: S-I-L-K. (Turn 22)				
L: Yeah, I find silk, you mean I...factory, factory, silk factory.	confirmation request			
S: (Laughing) I, I don't know. **(Turn 23)**		responsibility abandoned		
L: Just silk?	confirmation request		solved by listener's assumption	
S: Uh, silk, silk something, but I don't read the...exactly.				
L: Okay, okay.	comprehension indication			
S: And, uh, you will in the silk something place and, uh, after that, you go out and...				

The partners had difficulty in finding the Silk Mill. Thus, at Speaker's Turn 7, the speaker suggested 'backtracking', i.e. to go back to the place or road prior to the occurrence of the problem, so as to make sure they were on the right track. At Listener's Turn 15, GL2 was surprised to find out that they had to go south. It was because he had not been told how far south they would go in the first place. The videotape shows that GL2 had actually gone straight to the end of the map. The speaker did not help much by spelling the word 'silk' out (Turn 22) as GL2 already knew that it was 'silk something', and when he asked the

speaker declared that he did not know (Turn 23) and left GL2 to decide on his own that the Factory was the Silk Mill.

In the above extracts, only the problem in extract (5) was solved by negotiation whereas in extracts (4) and (6), the problems were left to GL2 to solve with his assumption. In this task, GL2 was able to make use of his interactional strategies to ask for information; however, there were examples showing that the speaker was not responding to his plea for help as he simply gave 'I don't know' answers.

Test Task Two - Marathon

Extract (7): Below the tennis courts

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: So you run around, uh, so...you can see a tennis court on your, uh, left side.				
L: Uh, I run, I run on the road, right on the tennis court.	confirmation indication			
S: \Right. \Hmhm...ah, left!				
L: Oh, no tennis?	confirmation request			
S: Yes, tennis court.				
L: Uh, it's very big, you mean the football.	confirmation indication			
S: Uh, no.				
L: Between?	confirmation request			

S: Uh...				
L: Wait, wait, wait a moment, uh, you mean the tennis, tennis court.	confirmation indication			I didn't expect to run at such sharp corner. I had some marathon experience when I was in university. I didn't listen to the speaker carefully as it is very unlikely for a marathon runner to turn at such acute corner.
S: Yes, tennis court.				
L: Tennis court on, uh, between the Gate One and the gate Two, right?	confirmation request			
S: Huhuh, yes. Gate...gate...sorry? Gate Two and Three?				
L: Gate Two and Gate One, between tennis, the tennis court, I...I, uh, run, uh, southwest and I turn left.	confirmation indication			
S: Yeah.				
L: Yeah, and...okay.	comprehension indication		solved by negotiation	

In the extract above, because of GL2's own marathon running experience, he did not anticipate turning around the tennis court as he said in his interview that turning sharp corners is rare in marathons. He ran straight ahead after he came into the Park as this can be seen on the video. He was halfway down the football field, which was on his left, and then realised that it was the tennis court that the speaker had been talking about. He then confirmed with his partner again and eventually established the right way to turn.

Extract (8): At the nursery

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: Yes, okay, and you can see a..uh...a nursery in front of you.				
L: See what?	clarification request			
S: Nursery.				
L: Nursery, okay.	confirmation indication			
S: And so you face, uh, one...three you face, uh, three choice of, three choice of road.				
L: Okay, what's next, please?	request for new information			According to my marathon experience, I anticipated that I should go out of the Park since marathon is a long, long run. However, I remember the unusual turn of the sharp corner, so I hesitated and waited for further instruction if I had to go out of the park at the corner gate or stay running inside the Park.
S: Yeah, at the corner, you turn the right.				
L: Wait, wait, now, I...uh...I am now in the, uh, in the corner.	confirmation indication			
S: Hmhm.				
L: Uh, face, uh, face north.	confirmation indication			
S: Hmhm.				
L: No I'm, uh, western side.	confirmation indication			
S: Nursery.				
L: Nursery?	confirmation request			
S: You face, you face, uh, nursery.				
L: Yes, nursery.	confirmation indication		solved by further instruction	

On the video, GL2 was seen hesitating at the nursery. When asked what problem he had encountered at that point, he said that he was waiting to see if he had to go out of the Park. Again, as in extract (2), it might have been a more effective strategy to have asked the speaker, instead of simply waiting for further instruction to confirm his anticipation of running outside the Park.

Extract (9): On the way to Park Club/Bowling Green

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: Three road?				
L: Mmm.	confirmation indication			
S: So you should take the, uh, lowest road,				
L: \Right, the right. **(Turn 2)**	confirmation indication			The speaker had been using, most of the time 'left', 'right' to tell me about the route that I should follow. However, at this point, he changed his usual way of describing the route. He used the word 'low', so I was not sure if I had heard him correctly.
S: in the...uh...				
L: Uh..right, right, okay?	confirmation request			
S: So you run beside the football ground, uh, on your right side.				
L: Yeah, I am near the turn around.	confirmation indication			
S: Sorry?				
L: (Laughing) Turn right?	confirmation request			
S: Yeah, also you face one, two, three road. Three..three road.				
L: Yeah, yes.	comprehension indication			
S: Em...you should take...the...north, the most north road. **(Turn 7)**				
L: Huh?	clarification request			
S: The north road.				
L: The north road?	confirmation request			
S: Yeah, north.				
L: North, okay.	confirmation indication		solved by negotiation (using directions)	

GL2 had got used to the speaker's wording in earlier instructions, so he was unsure when the speaker used an unfamiliar word 'low'. If, at Listener's Turn 2, instead of saying "right", GL2 had asked the speaker using an explicit clarification request, for example, "What do you mean by 'lowest'?", the problem might have been solved in fewer turns of negotiation. Perhaps the speaker realised some confusion there, since at Speaker's Turn 7, he used 'north' to indicate to GL2

where he should go.

Extract (10): Running to the snacks/cafe

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: Yes, right and straight ahead, uh...to two blocks.				
L: Yes, to north now. **(Turn 1)**	confirmation indication			The speaker used the word 'block' which I thought is only used for buildings. I found it odd to use 'block' as we were in the Park.
S: So you face, uh...				
L: To? Wait, wait, wait, to north, (laughing) you mean two blocks?	clarification & confirmation requests			
S: Huh, I'm not sure. **(Turn 3)**		responsibility abandoned		
L: Yeah, yeah, I, I, I am near the, the other gate.	initiation			
S: Yes, yes, another gate, so you turn, uh, south,				
L: \Mmm.	comprehension indication			
S: and you will face, uh, cafe.				
L: Mmm.	confirmation indication			
S: Cafe?				
L: Okay.	confirmation indication		solved by negotiation (using other reference)	

If GL2 was not sure of the word 'block', he could have asked the speaker to explain. There was some confusion at his confirmation at Listener's Turn 1 as he said "Yes, to north now.". Looking at the map and according to their previous move, he would appear to have been going to east instead of north. Perhaps for this reason the speaker was confused and gave him a 'not sure' answer (Speaker's Turn 3) when GL2 tried to confirm with him the direction that they were taking. Finally, they managed to solve the problem by using 'the gate' as their reference and orientation point.

Extract (11): At the lake

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: Yes, so you should, uh, turn , uh, you should run, uh, anti-clockwise.				
L: Pardon?	clarification request			
S: Anti-clockwise, counter-clockwise.				
L: Under?	confirmation request			Again, in marathons, athletes are usually not asked to turn at such sharp corners.
S: Uh, upper, upper side.				
L: Upper side.	confirmation indication			
S: Yes, yes.				
L: Yeah.	comprehension indication			
S: And...uh...you go around the lake,				
L: \Mmm.				
S: and you should pass the, uh...the road on your right hand. **(Turn 7)**				
L: Pardon?	clarification request			Moreover, when I ran around the lake, I turned into the first path because I thought the speaker had told me to turn right into the path.
S: You should pass...				
L: Pass what?	clarification indication			
S: The, the road. The road on your...				
L: The road?	confirmation request			
S: Right side, pass on.				
L: On the right, right side?	confirmation request			
S: Yeah.				
L: Turn right, yes, okay. You mean turn...turn around?	confirmation indication & request			
S: Yeah.				
L: Turn round again, okay. Now, I, I face another three road.	confirmation indication & initiation			
S: Yeah, so...uh...you go to pool, pool direction?				
L: What, what direction?	clarification request			
S: To a pool, pool.				

L: To a pool direction. S: Yeah.	confirmation indication			
L: To a pool, okay. You mean I turn right? S: No.	confirmation indication & request			
L: Pool, there, there are two pool? S: Two pool?	confirmation request			
L: You mean, uh, the pool is round or square? S: Ah, round, round, round, circle.	clarification request			
L: Round, round, circle? S: Circle.	confirmation request			
L: Uh, you mean the pool is...uh... S: Near the South Way.				
L: Near the South Way, okay, okay.	confirmation indication		solved by negotiation	

When GL2's partner told him to run anti-clockwise, GL2 might not have understood the word 'anti-clockwise', since he used 'under' to find out the direction he had to go around the lake. When GL2 came to the first path, he turned into it and later in the interview claimed that he had been told to by the speaker. In fact, starting at Speaker's Turn 7, he had been told to pass the 'road' on his right but, obviously, the transfer of information did not succeed until GL2 was told to go to a pool. GL2 was quick enough to notice that there were two pools - one round and the other rectangular. He therefore asked the speaker about the shape of the pool and was told it was 'round'; the speaker then gave him further information that the 'round' pool was near South Way and this confirmed the route that GL2 should have been taking.

Extract (12): At the round pool

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: You go beside the pool in, uh, clockwise.				
L: Beside the pool under the clockwise.	confirmation indication			
S: Clockwise.				
L: You mean I, uh...I turn left or turn...go...uh, run to the gate?	clarification request			I was confused, for a moment, with 'left' and 'right', so I had to stop and think.
S: Ah, no, continue to, uh, go around the pool.				
L: Go around pool.	confirmation indication		solved by negotiation	

GL2 was confused in this extract because he probably did not know the meaning of 'clockwise'. He confirmed with the speaker if it was "...under the clockwise" but asked again if he had to turn left. The speaker then told him that he should go around the pool.

Extract (13): At the finishing point

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: yeah, finish point is between, uh,playground and pool.				I was told that the finishing point was between the playground and the pool. At that time, I did not know which was the playground. I only had Kid's Corner on my map and thought that it could be a playground on the speaker's map. Then I was told to stop between these two places, so I thought it was sensible to stop somewhere in the middle. Throughout the marathon, I had been running on the paths so it didn't occur to me at all that I should stop on the grass. I think whoever designs this route has no experience in marathon running as some of the places are really surprises to marathon runners. Therefore, I think it is quite likely for this race to finish at some point that normally is not expected by a marathon runner, i.e. halfway down the path.
L: Be...between what? Between playground and...	clarification request			
S: Playground and pool.				
L: Pool?	confirmation request			
S: Yes.				
L: Wait a moment, a playground and the pool?	confirmation request			
S: Yes.				
L: Playground and the pool? Is it between the playground and the pool, just in the middle?	confirmation & clarification requests			
S: Uh...				
L: Between the playground and the pool?	confirmation request			
S: Yeah, yes, yes.				
L: Okay.	confirmation indication		erroneous conclusion drawn by negotiation	
S: That's the finish...point.				

The finishing point of this marathon race was a surprise to an experienced marathon runner like GL2, as he did not expect at all to end on the grass. During the task, the speaker did not tell him that he should run and finish on the grass. GL2 was simply told by the speaker that the finishing point was between the

playground, which he correctly took to be Kid's Corner on his map, and the pool. From the transcript, the problem seemed to be solved, as both had agreed that the finishing point was between the playground and the pool. However, on the final product, i.e. the transparency, GL2 had the last part drawn incorrectly.

In this second test task, Marathon, most of the partners' problems could be solved through negotiation. However, as in the last extract above shows, negotiation does not always lead to the correct solution. Wrong conclusions can be drawn through negotiation and this leads to errors in the final product.

Test Task Three: Silver Island

Extract (14): At the starting point

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: Yes, uh...now, we are at the land here, at the sandy beach, near the Holy Mountain. Start point, start point is at, uh...near the sandy beach. Uh, there is, there is near the Holy Mountain, Holy Mountain.				
L: Near Holy Mountain, at southern beach?	confirmation request			Since it was the starting point, I want to make sure that the direction was accurate from the very beginning. Moreover, the starting point of this map is unlike the other two. This map looks more complicated since it doesn't have marked roads or paths. I wanted to make sure that I had started it correctly. The instructions given by the speaker about the starting point were vague so I had to ask for other places of reference. I mistook the other beach as starting point at first because I was confused by the speaker's 'left' and 'right', so I had to ask him to repeat using 'east' and 'west' instead. Finally, the speaker confirmed that the starting point was a sandy beach where
S: Yes.				
L: Near mountain?	confirmation request			
S: Yes, yes, uh...in you...right, right side, right side. Uh...you walk to the north.				
L: To north?	confirmation request			
S: Yes.				
L: You mean, uh, go to, uh, the wood, the wood, the trees, many trees.	confirmation indication			
S: Uh...trees? which side? In front of you? No?				
L: Yeah, in front of me.	confirmation indication			
S: Em...				
L: There, there is a woods, many, many trees.	initiation			
S: Sorry? The...				
L: There are a lot of trees.	confirmation indication			
S: Ahuh, woods. I see. Uh.. in my map, there isn't, uh...(laughing) anyway, uh...uh...you will...				
L: Do, do I have to, to pass the wood, these trees?	confirmation request			

S: Uh...you mean through the trees?				there was a mountain on its right, east side and another mountain in front, so I realised that the beach under the wood was the wrong place to start the journey.
L: Yeah, yeah.	confirmation indication			
S: Mmm...so near the mountain. **(Turn 10)**				
L: Yeah, near mountain.	confirmation indication			
S: Near the mountain, on your left side.				
L: Left (pronounced as [reft]) side? **(Turn 11)**	confirmation request			
S: Right side. Pass, uh, you will near the mountain on your right side. Holy Mountain and...				
L: Right side or you mean left side?	clarification request			
S: Right side. Pass mountain.				
L: Yeah, now I, I am standing in the sandy beach on the right of the mountain...on the east the mountain.	confirmation indication			
S: East of the mountain?				
L: Yeah (laughing).	confirmation indication			
S: No.				
L: Okay.	comprehension indication			
S: So...uh...				
L: Repeat again from the beginning, please.	backtracking			
S: Yes, yes, uh...start point is, uh, near the Holy Mountain, which is, uh, on your right.				
L: Our right side, okay. Right or left?	confirmation indication & clarification request			
S: Right, right.				
L: On the right, west side.	confirmation indication			
S: Right side.				
L: The mountain on the right side.	confirmation indication			
S: Yes.				
L: Okay.	comprehension indication		solved by negotiation	

GL2 at first started at the wrong beach. He tried to confirm with the speaker that there were trees near the beach where he started, but the speaker's response was vague and he just told him to go near the mountain (Speaker's Turn 10). They could not go further, so GL2 suggested they went back to the very beginning. The speaker told him again that the starting point was at Holy Mountain and GL2 eventually found the correct starting point. At Turn 11, GL2 had pronounced 'left' with a /r/ sound. This is believed to be a careless mistake. The /l/ and /r/ sounds should not be a problem to Mandarin-speaking Chinese as they are both realised in 'Pinyin' - the phonetic system of Mandarin.

Extract (15): At Surf Island

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: And so can you see a Surf Island in front of...				
L: Can you see what?	clarification request			
S: Island, island, Surf Island.				
L: Yeah, yeah, yeah, yes, yes, yes, I do.	confirmation indication			
S: So...you go, go up to the point of, uh, to the...what do you call, what do you say, uh, a...the...uh...near the right side of the Surf Island? (GL2 does not respond so the speaker continues.) Can you understand?		comprehension check		
L: No, uh, now I...so...north. **(Turn 3)**	confirmation indication			I didn't hesitate, I just waited there for further instruction from the speaker before I could move on.
S: Mmm, yes.				
L: As you walk on the Island, okay, go ahead.	request for new information			
S: Yes, and turn, uh, right. Turn right.				
L: Mmm.	comprehension indication		solved by negotiation	

From the videotape, GL2 was seen hesitating at Surf Island. However, when asked in the interview, he said he was simply waiting for more instruction. At Listener's Turn 3, the point where he was seen hesitating, GL2 seemed to be signalling some problem in understanding the instruction. However, this was not commented on in the retrospective interview.

Extract (16): At the lake

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: Yeah, the lake on your left side,				
L: \Yeah.	comprehension indication			
S: uh, connect to a river.				
L: Yeah.	comprehension indication			
S: Yes, that's right, uh, which you cross...				
L: I cross the lake or go pass the lake?	clarification request			I thought that the speaker told me to go to the lake and cross it. I was not at all sure so I had to ask the speaker if I should cross or walk pass the lake.
S: Em...no, no, no, just, uh...				
L: Under?	confirmation request			
S: Yeah, under.				
L: Yeah.	comprehension indication		solved by negotiation	

GL2 and the speaker solved their problem by negotiation, but by adopting the map-reader's perspective when they both agreed that GL2 should go 'under' the lake, instead of using the walker's perspective. There should not be any problem as long as the participants use the same perspective, i.e. either that of a map-reader or a walker, if not, confusion will arise.

Extract (17): At the finishing point

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: Can you see mountains?				
L: Yeah.	confirmation indication			
S: So..uh..you can see a mine?				
L: Mountain?	confirmation request			
S: Yes, uh, at the, uh, at the ro...root of mountain.				
L: Pardon?	clarification request			I was not told that I would finish there. The speaker just told me to stop at the root of the mountain. At that time, I thought he meant 'route'. We were stuck there for a while. Finally, I asked him if I had to stop in front of the mountain and was told 'yes', so I stopped just right there.
S: Root.				
L: Route?	confirmation request			
S: No? (laughing) **(Turn 5)**				
L: Uh...I, I should go through the mountain.	confirmation indication			
S: No, no, no, no.				
L: No, climb up the mountain?	confirmation request		erroneous conclusion drawn by negotiation	
S: \No...no, no, no, just, uh, just...so just at the...uh...				
L: Just, just stand in front of the mountain?	confirmation request			
S: Yes, that's right.				

The speaker did not tell GL2 exactly which mountain (of the five) he had to go to. GL2 could have asked for more information but he did not. It was not until the interview that we found out GL2 had mistaken 'root' for 'route'. This obviously had caused the speaker some doubt, as he said "No?" (Speaker's Turn 5). However, GL2 was able to adopt a different approach. As was the case with extract (11), the problem here was not satisfactorily solved, on the evidence of the product (GL2's map), but if we simply look at the transcript or listen to the videotape, the participants seemed to have managed to negotiate a mutually acceptable solution to some problem points, which was in fact incorrect.

GL2 and his partner had been using directions (south/north, east/west) since the first task, Tai Tu, and this may well have facilitated the process of instruction giving. In fact, it was GL2 who initiated the use of directions, as shown in extract (1). This could possibly be due to GL2's academic and professional backgrounds, which is architecture.

In the second task, Marathon, GL2 had used more clarification requests as shown in the quantitative data. This could be due to the nature of the task; in Marathon, more problem points were built in than in Tai Tu. On the other hand, as mentioned earlier in section 8.1, it could, of course, possibly be the effect of the training. The one-week interval between the first and the second test task may have allowed time for the lesson to sink in. However, if so, the effect had disappeared by the third test task.

- LISTENER GL3

Test Task One - Tai Tu

Extract (1): Going up to Beijing Road

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: and there, the cross section, you, you turn to the right hand side.				The speaker's instruction were not very clear.
L: Eh, to?	clarification request			
S: You have to turn,				
L: \Huhuh.	comprehension indication			
S: to the right hand side and go all along the Beijing Road.				
L: Mmm, on the right?	confirmation indication			
S: Yes, on the right and...just one block, you should turn to the left...				
L: \Mmm.	comprehension indication			
S: \to get to Pagoda.				
L: Okay.	confirmation indication		solved by negotiation	

In extract (1), GL3 may have either not understood or not heard 'cross section'. However, he managed to make a clarification request which led the speaker to re-explain the route to him and ask him to turn right and go along Beijing Road to the Pagoda.

Extract (2): Coming out from the Palace

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments (L)
S: Uh, in, in front of the Palace,				
L: \Mmm.	comprehension indication			
S: you turn the left,				
L. \Mmm.	comprehension indication			
S: and go straight, go straight.				
L: Okay, go, go, uh, go east or west?	clarification request			
S: East, west?				The speaker told me to turn on my left, but I find using 'left' and 'right' rather confusing, so I asked him if I was to go east or west but he told me that he had no directions on his map. Therefore, I took the risk of turning left.
L: Huh?	clarification request			
S: Sorry?				
L: We are going east or, or west, to east or west?	clarification request			
S: Uh, on this map, there's no direction, no,em, you are in front of the Palace.				
L: Mmm.	confirmation indication	solved by GL3's assumption		
S: It is in the Palace Avenue, em, turn to the left.				
L: Okay	comprehension indication			

GL3 asked the speaker for directions in the above extract but was told there were none marked on the map. Therefore, they had to resort to 'left' or 'right' again in order to solve the problem and GL3 was asked to turn left. However, in the interview, GL3 seemed to have doubts about 'turning left' as he said that he was confused about which side to turn and took the 'risk' of turning left. If it was not for the retrospective comments, we would have not known that GL3 had doubts about which side to turn as he gave a comprehension indication, "Okay", to the speaker.

Extract (3): At the Statue/Monument

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: In front of you, there's a monument.				
L: Okay.	confirmation indication			
S: This is the third place you should see.				I thought that the Statue and the Monument were just the same thing. Moreover, I remember that there were differences in the maps, so I didn't have problems here and the same happened later on to the Factory or the Silk Mill.
L: Uh, this is the same, I have statue, I don't know the pronunciation. One...	confirmation indication			
S: You find one what?				
L: Okay, okay.	comprehension indication		solved by Gl3's assumption	
S: Yes, this is the first, third, third place.				
L: Okay.	comprehension indication			

GL3 simply assumed that the Statue was the same as the Monument. He did the same with the Factory, which is Silk Mill on the speaker's map. Thus, he did not see that he did not see that he had problems at all; he resorted to a 'high-risk' strategy instead of using interactional strategies to find out more.

GL3 took the shortest time among the other subject listeners to finish Tai Tu. The problem points illustrated in two of the extracts were solved by GL3's assumption and little negotiation was required.

Test Task Two - Marathon

Extract (4): Finding the entrance into the Park

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: Let's start.				
L: I have two gates in West Road.	initiation			
S: Yes, two ways, you have two ways? **(Turn 2)**				
L: Two ways? Uh, uh, the gate, I...uh...the gate I have is in...the...west.	confirmation request & indication			
S: Yes, uh, uh, on the left hand side, there is a tennis court.				
L: Sorry, I don't understand.	clarification request			I didn't understand where the park entrance was.
S: Uh...				
L: Starting from the gate up?	confirmation request			
S: Gate? Ah, I see! Uh, down, south, south, in the gate down in the tennis court.				
L: Tennis?	confirmation request			The speaker said it was 'below' and I couldn't at that time catch the word 'below' so I didn't know where to go.
S: Yes, down in the tennis court, below, below...the tennis court.				
L: Yes, okay. **(Turn 6)**	comprehension indication			
S: Uh, and, uh, the low road, uh, uh, you can find the way on the left hand side to the tennis court. **(Turn 7)**				
L: I don't understand...I don't understand, The...on the left?	clarification request & confirmation request			
S: Yes, you, you start from, uh, gate in the West Road below tennis court.				
L: Okay.	comprehension indication			
S: And there is a way,				
L: \Hmhm.	comprehension indication			
S: there is a road between tennis court and, uh, main ground.				

L: Okay, on the left? I have to...	confirmation request			
S: Yes, you should...				
L: What is it, what is it on the left?	clarification request			
S: Little bit...				
L: Yes, on the left?	confirmation request			
S: Uh...tennis court! In the road, in the road?				
L: Yes, uh, okay. The gate is the first in the West Road.	comprehension & confirmation indications			
S: I think is...second from top.				
L: From top? Okay.	confirmation request & comprehension indication			
S: Uh, one, two, uh, you can start from the, uh, road, it is below...				
L: \Okay.	comprehension indication			
S: \the tennis courts.				
L: Okay and on the left?	confirmation request			
S: And on the, on the left..., there is a road between tennis court and the main ground.				
L: Main ground?	confirmation request			
S: You can turn right.				
L: Sorry, my map is...grassier, grassier areas?	confirmation request			
S: Uh...yes, I think so, and...				
L: Okay. Turn right?	comprehension indication & confirmation request			
S: and again, and again, uh...				
L: I turn, turn right?	confirmation request			I asked the speaker if I should turn right, but he said that I could see 'the first road'. At that time, while I was doing the task, I couldn't make out what he
S: Yeah, just, just passing the, passing through the, uh, gate in the, in the start point. You can see the tennis courts on your left hand side.				
L: Yes.	confirmation indication			
S: Right? And, and continue run...you can see the first road. Can you see the first road, the first road?				

L: No!	confirmation indication			was saying. 'The first road' sounded like 'first of all', even now when I am watching the tape. I thought he said that I could see 'first of all' and thus, mistook 'first of all' for the name of a place which I couldn't find anywhere on the map, so we had to start all over again. Then the speaker told me to turn to the left along the road. Also, he had made some reference to tennis courts on my left, which made it easier for me this time. I think that the speaker should have told me in the first place that I should turn to my left.
S: Okay, start, start, start again.		backtracking suggested		
L: Okay, start again.	backtracking			
S: You start the...road in the west. You start in at the gate, west in the West Road.				
L: Yes.	comprehension indication			
S: And this is below, it is below...				
L: \Tennis court?	confirmation indication			
S: and below way, you can see the tennis court in the left hand side.				
L: Mmm.	confirmation indication			
S: Okay?				
L: Okay, I start...I start in the gate.	confirmation indication			
S: Huhuh, in the gate.				
L: Below tennis court and, and...				
S: This is your...				
L: I...				
S: Yeah...				
L: Okay, I stood, I walk along this road, okay?	confirmation request			
S: Uh, this is the, the road,				
L: \Hmhm.	comprehension indication			
S: uh, southern part to the tennis court and... turn to the left at the first road, you can see...do you catch it? **(Turn 33)**				
L: Mmm.	confirmation indication			
S: There is tennis courts,				
L: \Yes.	confirmation indication			

S: on your left hand side. L: Yes, mmm...on the left, uh, the gate? S: Hmhm, yeah, left of the gate. L: Yes, okay.	confirmation request comprehension indication			solved by negotiation

GL3 initiated some information about the number of the gates he had but was misheard by the speaker (Speaker's Turn 2). As they had a problem in finding the right gate to go into the Park, the speaker told GL3 that it was left of the tennis courts. Although in the interview, GL3 said that he could not, at the time of doing the task, catch the word 'below', he gave an indication of comprehension at Listener's Turn 6. Looking at the transcript, it seems that his problem actually came from the point when the speaker told him to find "the way on the left hand side to the tennis court" (Speaker's Turn 7). They were stuck there for a while, until the speaker suggested they start again from the beginning. GL3 said in his interview that this time the speaker had used some reference which made it easier for him. However, the speaker was actually saying the same thing, apart from "...southern part to the tennis court" (Speaker's Turn 33), which might have made it easier for GL3. In Tai Tu, the speaker had failed to use directions and told GL3 that there were no directions in the map. However, it is noticeable that in Marathon, he did make use of directions, e.g. at Speaker's Turn 33.

Extract (5): At the nursery

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: in front of you... and pass, pass the front, pass the front of nursery...the corner, the corner of the Nursery, there is a way, one, two, three, four ways.				The speaker said that I could find four ways but I saw only three there. I thought then I must have made a mistake and ended up on a wrong road.
L: Four?	confirmation request			
S: Four ways.				
L: Four ways.	confirmation request			
S: In, in the corner...in the south east corner.				
L: South?	confirmation request			
S: South east corner of the Nursery. It is four ways, and...you are already in the...you are already in, in front of one way.				
L: No.	confirmation request			
S: Again, again in front of the Nursery.		backtracking suggested		
L: Okay, again, no problem. I have on the right...the football field, no?	backtracking & confirmation request			
S: Sorry?				
L: On the right...I have football field.	confirmation request			
S: On the right, yes. A football ground on the right.				
L: Yes.	confirmation indication			
S: Yes, it is a football ground and you can, you can follow the road, just the...beside the football ground.				
L: Yes.	comprehension indication		solved by negotiation	
S: Okay?				
L: Okay.	confirmation indication			

A problem arose when the speaker told GL3 that he could find four ways. The speaker suggested starting again in front of the nursery, the place prior to the occurrence of the problem. Further, GL3 requested confirmation of the position of the football field, which solved the problem.

Extract (6): At Park Club/Bowling Green

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments (L)
S: until you can see the corner of Bowling Green.				
L: Corner of what?	clarification request			
S: Bowling Green.				
L: Bowling Green, I have not...I have no this way on my map.	confirmation indication			When the speaker told me to find Bowling Green, I didn't know what it was and of course, couldn't find it on the map since it was under a different name. I told the speaker about Park Club but he couldn't understand me so we had to go back to the nursery and started from there again.
S: Ah!				
L: I have the Park Club.	initiation			
S: Sorry?				
L: Park Club.	confirmation indication			
S: Park?				
L: Club.	confirmation indication			

S: Club (pronounced as [klɔk].				
L: Hmhm.	confirmation indication			
S: Park Club, Park Club?				
L: Park Club!	confirmation indication			
S: What is it?				
L: Near the...third gate of North Way.	response			
S: Near the? Uh, okay, then from the nursery. **(Turn 9)**		back-tracking suggested		
L: Yes.	confirmation indication			
S: From the nursery, you, you ran				
L: Hmhm.	comprehension indication			
S: along the road, beside, just beside the football ground.				
L: Yes.	comprehension indication			
S: Uh, at the end of football ground,				
L: \Yes.	comprehension indication			
S: you can, you can see the three, three roads.				
L: Yes.	confirmation indication			
S: Okay?				
L: Yeah.	confirmation indication			
S: Uh, continue running,				
L: \Hmhm.	comprehension indication			
S: and...at the corner of a building,				
L: \Hmhm.	comprehension indication			
S: uh, not building, at the corner of the Bowling Green, you have see the Bowling Green.				
L: At the corner on the left?	confirmation request			
S: Yes, the...at the corner, mmm...just at, at the corner of the, uh, football ground.				
L: Mmm.	comprehension indication			
S: You should, you, you saw the...you saw three roads in front of you.				

L: Yeah, okay. S: You should follow the leftmost...road. L: Hmhm. S: And run along this road, uh, you can see, uh, three road cross section. L: No...yes! Okay. S: Turn to the left. L: Yes.	comprehension indication comprehension indication confirmation & comprehension indications comprehension indication		solved by negotiation	

GL3 and his partner encountered a referential problem over GL3's Park Club and his partner's Bowling Green. Though GL3 told his partner what he had, he was not understood, and finally the speaker suggested going back to the nursery and starting again to trace the route from there (Speaker's Turn 9). This proved more successful than the previous attempt, though 'Bowling Green' was again mentioned but did not seem to cause any referential problem this time.

Extract (7): At the corner of the snacks/cafe

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: And...at the corner of the cafe, L: \Hmhm. S: uh, you can see on your left hand side a lake. L: Lake? S: Lake.	comprehension indication confirmation request			

L: Pool? Pool? Okay. Uh, no, I have pool **(Turn 3).** S: Yes, you should... L: I'm sorry. S: Yeah? L: I have lake, lake, the lake on the left, on the left side... yes, okay. I have... **(Turn 5)** S: At, at the corner of the cafe, L: \Okay. S: on the left hand side there is a lake. L: Okay.	confirmation request & indication & initiation confirmation indication comprehension indication confirmation indication	unacknowledged problem	solved by seeing	At first, I didn't understand what the speaker was telling me. He said that I could see a lake on my left, but I could only find a pool and snack on each of my sides. I stopped there until I finally saw the lake which the speaker had mentioned.

At turn 3, GL3 was trying to tell the speaker that he had a pool instead of a lake. This was not recognised by the speaker, possibly because he was concentrating on telling GL3 to find a lake on his map and how to get there. GL3 was initially unable to find the lake but then noticed (Listener's Turn 5). Thus, their referential problem at that point was solved by a more carefully search.

Extract (8): Running half round the lake

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospectiv e comments
S: and...you continue running until you see, mmm, again, again...		backtracking suggested		
L: Okay, okay, we are on the right of the lake, okay?	confirmation request			
S: You, you have the, the first road, you can see is, uh, on the right.				
L: On the right? **(Turn 2)**	confirmation request			As the speaker told me to continue running, I went further down the road and heard the word 'right' so I thought I had to turn right onto the path until I heard that I had to pass that path and continue my running.
S: Yes. You should pass, you should pass this, uh, this road and continue running. **(Turn 3)**				
L: Ah!	comprehension indication			
S: You should pass, pass, pass this way.				
L: Okay, okay.			solved by further instruction	
S: Em...you should pass, and also you should pass the second way on the right hand side.				
L: On the right hand?	confirmation request			
S: Yes, uh...				
L: Now, I have...				
S: \This is another way and the third way.				
L: Yes, I have, okay.	confirmation indication		solved by negotiation	

GL3 hesitated as he ran further down the road around the lake, thinking the speaker was asking him to turn right onto a path. At Listener's Turn 2, GL3 intended to ask for confirmation with the intention of finding out if he should turn in that direction. However, the expression, "On the right?" which GL3 used to make his confirmation request did not clearly express his intention. He was actually misunderstood by the speaker, who said "Yes" (Speaker's Turn 3) thinking that GL3 knew that what he meant was to run past the path 'on his right'. The problem, however, was finally solved by further instruction from the speaker.

Extract (9): At the finishing point

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: The finish line, the finish line is on the ground. No, no, the finish line is on the grass.				
L: But...okay...I don't...				
S: It's on the grass?				
L: On the grass?	confirmation request			
S: On the grass, grass.				
L: I don't have the...I don't have the...				
S: Yeah, you are...I see...Beginning...You are the, beside the pool.		backtracking suggested		
L: Yes?	request for new information			
S: There's two ways,				
L: \Yes.	confirmation indication			
S: on your right hand side, on your front foreside				
L: Huhuh.	confirmation indication			
S: You should go between,				
L: \Hmhm, okay.	comprehension indication			
S: between, uh, right hand side road and front side road, between...				
L: On the grass?	confirmation request			All the time, I had been running on the path. However, at that point, I was told to run on the grass, it took me by surprise and I thought I had heard it wrong. I didn't realise that the finish point was on the grass.
S: Yes! Yes, that's right!				
L: On the grass!	confirmation indication			
S: On the grass, okay?				
L: Okay.	confirmation indication			
S: On the grass, there's a finish.				
L: Pardon?	clarification request			

S: On the grass, there's a finish. L: The grass is finish? S: Yes, there's a finish line, okay? L: Hmhm.	confirmation request confirmation indication		solved by negotiation	

Like GL2, GL3 expressed surprise when he knew that the finishing point was on the grass, as he had anticipated that it would end on one of the paths. Thus, in the extract, it can be seen that GL3 had tried to confirm several times whether he had to finish 'on the grass'.

On this second test task, as far as the use of the interactional strategies is concerned, GL3 can be considered more successful than on Tai Tu. The speaker had also started to use directions as in extract (4) and suggested backtracking whenever they faced problems. Most of the problems in Marathon were solved through negotiation.

Test Task Three - Silver Island

Extract (10): Finding the starting point

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: Mmm...first, do you know, do you know the, the place you should land? You should land on the island.				
L: Mmm...no.	confirmation indication			
S: Just you had map at...you should land on island...ah...on the beach. There are three beaches here, uh...				
L: What is that mean? ~They are sandy beach?	clarification & confirmation requests			
S: Yeah.				
L: Okay.	comprehension indication			
S: We have...three...three beaches,				
L: \Hmhm.	confirmation indication			
S: and we should land on the beach...in the middle. It means between two beaches.				
L: Between two?	confirmation request			
S: Yeah. It's...uh...left hand bottom...beach.				
L: The beach between...uh...it's...it's a beach between two, two hill? **(Turn 6)**	confirmation request			I didn't understand which way it was, what the exact route was and even now when I am watching the video of my performance, I still don't know. I started between the two mountains but I was quite confused
S: Yes, it's right. Uh, on the right hand side, there is Holy Mountain.				
L: Yeah.	confirmation indication			
S: You should land here on the beach...okay?				
L: Hmhm.	confirmation indication			
S: Mmm, you found the beach?				
L: Yeah, okay, I found it.	confirmation indication			

S: Okay, then you should walk...uh...along between two mountains,				because the speaker told me to find a beach and then walk between the two mountains and I didn't know what he meant. Initially, I was told to find the beach and go between two mountains but then later on, I was told to go between the mountains and then along the route between the desert and the beach. I didn't know which way to take and I just decided on the latter route.
L: \Hmhm.	comprehension indication			
S: and you can see flooded area.				
L: I can see what?	clarification request			
S: Flooded area, in front of you, uh...				
L: I have a desert.	initiation			
S: A desert? It change it to 'desert', uh...you should, you should cross this desert and you should see some trees.				
L: Trees, okay, on the right hand, some trees, some trees.	confirmation indication			
S: On the right hand?				
L: Yeah.	confirmation indication			
S: Some trees?				
L: Yeah.	confirmation indication			
S: You shouldn't go there and...				
L: I should go!?	confirmation request			
S: Shouldn't				
L: Ah, okay.	comprehension indication			
S: Okay, and in front of you, you can see, you said 'desert'?		listener's world acknowledged		
L: Yeah.	confirmation indication			
S: Uh...and on the right hand side, there are... there is another...beach.				
L: Yeah.	confirmation indication			
S: You should go along between the beach and uh...desert area. **(Turn 20)**		listener's world acknow-ledged		
L: Okay. **(Turn 20)**	comprehension indication		solved by negotiation	

GL3 had seemed to understand what was going on (Listener's Turns 6 - 9), but said in the interview that he was quite confused about the starting point at the beach between the two mountains. However, in marking his map, GL3 had, as he said in his interview, started at the beach between the two mountains, but instead of going north round Holy Mountain, he went to the south. Nonetheless, the speaker was able to take the listener's world into account when he knew that the 'flooded area' he had was the 'desert' on his partner's map. So instead of telling his partner to "go along between the beach and the flooded area", he used 'desert' (Speaker's Turn 20). According to the interview, GL3 actually did not understand which route to take. If this was the case, then the comprehension signal he gave to the speaker at Turn 20 was not appropriate at all, as it did not serve its function. Moreover, one might assume from looking at the transcript, that the participants seemed to solve the problem by negotiation, but according to GL3's interview, the problem was, in fact, solved by GL3's assumption.

Extract (11): At Surf Island

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: until you see Surf Island. Just in front of Surf Island.				I was told to go to an island and I couldn't find the name of the island, so I didn't know which island it was supposed to be until I saw it.
L: No, I don't have this.	confirmation indication			
S: You don't have?				
L: I don't have.	confirmation indication			
S: There is a small...s...				
L: Yeah, okay, on, on, on, on the left.	confirmation indication		solved when GL3 saw the Island	

GL3 probably concentrated too hard on working on his task and as a result could not see Surf island. The problem was solved when he finally spotted it.

Extract (12): Between the dunes and the swamps

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: You can see a coast.				
L: Yeah.	confirmation indication			
S: Can you?				
L: Yeah.	confirmation indication			
S: And you turn to right directly, turn to the right.				
L: Yeah.	comprehension indication			
S: And so you should face the south of the island, okay?				
L: No.	confirmation indication			The speaker told me at that time I faced the south of the island, but I wasn't sure so I got up and had a good look at the projected map thinking that I might face the wrong way.
S: If you turn to the right after dunes, you should see the south of the island.				
L: South of island? (Getting up and looking at the projected map on the wall.)	confirmation request			
S: No? Ah...so...you pass through...you pass, uh, beside dunes.				
L: Yeah, okay.	comprehension indication			
S: Okay. Then turn to the right.				
L: Yeah, turn to the right. I have some, some trees.	confirmation indication & initiation		solved by negotiation	

When GL3 was told that he should be facing the south of Surf Island, he found it helpful to check his orientation by consulting the projected map. After that, he seemed to be able to find his way better. It is unlikely that the projected map is in any way more helpful in checking the orientation, but it may make the subject feel more confident.

Extract (13): At the river with rapids

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: Uh...can you see rapids?				
L: Can you see...?	clarification request			
S: Rapids, uh, arrow,				
L: \Yeah, okay.	confirmation indication			I was going to cross the river but then I was not sure at which point I should cross the river, so I has to wait for more information.
S: very, very rush curled...stream.				
L: Yeah, yeah, hmhm.	comprehension indication			
S: It's very dangerous,				
L: \Yeah.	comprehension indication			
S: so you should cross the stream before the rapid.				
L: Yeah.	comprehension indication		solved by further instruction	

The speaker tried to explain what rapids were to make sure that GL3 understood the instruction. When this had been made clear, the speaker told him to cross the stream 'before' the rapids. GL3 said in the interview that he was waiting to be told where to cross the river; instead of simply waiting for further information from the speaker, he could have made use of the strategies and asked explicitly.

Extract (14): At the lake

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: Okay. You get around this mountain and you can see a small...a, a bigger lake on your right hand side.				
L: Big lake?	confirmation request			
S: Yeah.				
L: No.	confirmation indication			
S: Bigger lake? Is there a lake?				
L: No.	confirmation indication			
S: Another lake?				
L: No, no another lake.	confirmation indication			I was told that I could also see a bigger lake, but all I could see on my map was just one lake. I waited there for more information and was told to go past the mountains.
S: Uh...then after you, you cross the...cross the stream you take around the small mountain.				
L: Yeah, okay.	comprehension indication			
S: Uh...between the mountain and, and				
L: \Yeah.	comprehension indication			
S: the forest.				
L: Yeah, okay.	comprehension indication			
S: And...				
L: And then I have in front, a, a small village.	initiation			
S: A village!				
L: Yeah, okay, but, but...front...				
S: A village?				
L: A village from...	initiation			
S: \and from, from the stream, stream. You cross the stream?				
L: Yeah.	confirmation indication			
S: And get around the...				
L: \Yeah, yeah, okay.	comprehension indication			

S: Yeah, and that is the point, uh, roughly the middle of island,				
L: \Yeah, okay.	comprehension indication			
S: and you sh...you should see...uh...you should see...so...Can you see...uh, you said you don't have...a lake, the lake on your right hand side?		listener's world acknowledged		
L: No.	confirmation indication			
S: Can you see on your left hand side...the lake you said?		listener's world acknowledged		
L: Yeah, okay, a small lake.	confirmation indication			I did have problem with the lakes, I was slightly confused till the speaker told me to go between the small lake that I had on my map and the mountains. I didn't really have problem finding the Mine.
S: Yeah, you should, you should, uh, follow...uh...you should walk along...walk beside the lake, the small lake.				
L: Yeah.	comprehension indication		solved by negotiation	
S: After you get around the, the mountains,				
L: \Okay.	comprehension indication			
S: okay? And you should walk directly to the...directly...directly until you see, you can see another river.				
L: Yeah, okay.	confirmation indication			
S: And...				
L: Do I have to pass between the lake and the mountain?	confirmation request			
S: On, on your right hand side?				
L: Yeah.	confirmation indication			
S: Yes, just directly.				
L: All right.	comprehension indication			

This extract illustrates the value of a speaker's ability to take his partner's world into account. GL3 might have given the speaker more information about the lake when he learnt that the speaker had a bigger lake as well as a small one. He should have taken a more active role instead of waiting at some points for

information to be conveyed by the speaker.

In this third task, Silver Island, the partners were able to solve the problems through negotiation in most cases. Apart from negotiating, the speaker was able to take his partner's world into consideration instead of imposing upon his partner what he had on his map.

Unlike the other pairs of subjects, GL3 and his partner did not use spelling whenever they came across some difficult words. However, this does not appear to have been a problem for them. Although the speaker had told GL3 in Tai Tu that there were no directions in the map, he did eventually use directions in a few cases subsequently. On the whole, the speaker was a rather considerate information supplier as he took the listener's world into account and tried to go back to the points where problems arise.

Quantitatively speaking, GL3 used a lot of 'comprehension indications' in his first task, Tai Tu (see Figure 16). Comprehension indications are usually used either to signal comprehension or encourage the speaker to move ahead as the information has been acknowledged. In Tai Tu, GL3 had very little negotiation with his partner as he had assumed the places under different names in the two versions of the map were the same. GL3's strategy of solving the referential problems built into the task illustrates what has been termed a 'high-risk strategy' (Brown, Anderson, Shadbolt and Lynch 1985); he made very few requests for additional information and gave minimal feedback. In fact, GL3's performance in

Tai Tu is typical of a listener adopting a high-risk strategy and not questioning or negotiating. When we compare his performance on the first task with that on the second, GL3 did better in the latter, by using more interactional strategies to negotiate and find out more from his partner.

- LISTENER CL1

Test Task One - Tai Tu

Extract (1): At the Hotel

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: Wait, in front of the Hotel, in this street which is in front of the Hotel, you will, uh, uh, turn right.				
L: Turn right, em, turn right, and then go down or up?	clarification request			
S: Yes, you will, uh, uh, go ahead.		unacknowledged problem		The speaker didn't specify which way to turn. She just told me to go ahead and I didn't really know what she meant.
L: Go ahead?	confirmation request			
S: Yes.				
L: Go ahead?	confirmation request			
S: And you will...uh...				
L: And then, and then? (The speaker at this point is trying to look at the projected map from behind the screen but is stopped by the researcher.)	request for new information			
S: Okay, you will, uh, go ahead in this street.				
L: Go ahead?	confirmation request			
S: And then...				
L: And then?	request for new information			
S: You will turn right at Beijing Road.				
L: Nations Road?	confirmation request			
S: Bei...				
L: Oh, Beijing Road, oh, I see.	comprehension indication		solved by CL1 looking carefully	

CL1 was told to turn right when he came out of the Hotel. He wanted to be sure whether turning right meant going up or down so he asked the speaker for clarification. However, the speaker did not seem to recognise the problem and simply asked him to "go ahead". CL1 could have asked the speaker again what she meant by 'go ahead' but he made a request for new information and was told

to go to Beijing Road, which may have been misheard by CL1 as 'Nations Road'. Finally, the problem was solved when CL1 saw Beijing Road and knew that he had to go straight up there and turn right.

Extract (2): Outside the Pagoda

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: You will take, uh, uh, the street this outside the...outside this monument.				
L: Mmm, outside monument? (**Turn 1**)	confirmation request			The speaker again was not very clear at giving the instructions, so I didn't where to go.
S: This street, it is, uh, different name in this street in the map. Outside the Pagoda, the street which is outside the Pagoda.				
L: Mmm.	comprehension indication			
S: You will, uh, uh, go ahead.				
L: Go ahead?	confirmation request			
S: Yeah, and then you will, uh, uh, turn right.				
L: Go ahead? Go, go to...first we go to Pagoda and...	confirmation request		solved by negotiation	
S: Yes, after the Pagoda, you will take this street that is outside the Pagoda.				

Like extract (1), the 'go ahead' problem occurred again. If CL1 had used a clarification request instead of a confirmation request by repeating the speaker's expression with rising intonation, the speaker might not have mistaken it for a confirmation request. In the interview, CL1 said that the speaker's instruction was not clear; however, looking at the transcript, the problem was also likely to be due to CL1's not knowing the meaning of 'monument' (Turn 1).

Extract (3): At Palace Avenue

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: And then you will, uh, see the Palace Avenue.				I couldn't find the Avenue at that time. Maybe it was because of the speaker's pronunciation. I was trying to look for a street or place that matched her pronunciation.
L: Palace Avenue? I didn't, I cannot see any.	confirmation request & indication	responsibility abandoned		
S: I don't know.				
L: Palace Avenue? Now, now I stand, I stand in front of the, uh, Pagoda.	confirmation request & backtracking			
S: Ah, yes, you stand outside the Pagoda.				
L: Yeah, and then?	request for new information			
S: Uh, you take this, uh, street.				
L: Yeah, I saw this, yes, I saw this.	confirmation indication			
S: And then, uh, the, the second street...				
L: Second? Means, uh...Palace Avenue (pronounced as [palɔs avendɔs]).	confirmation request & indication			
S: What is the name of the street?				
L: Uh...okay, now I stand in front of the pagoda, and then? **(Turn 6)**	backtracking			
S: You go ahead.	clarification request			
L: Go ahead, go for, go up or go down?				
S: Go down!	request for new information		solved by negotiation	
L: Go down, go down and then?				

CL1 went back twice to the Pagoda to retrace the route. In his interview, he explained that it was possibly due to the speaker's accent that he could not understand her pronunciation of 'Palace Avenue'. However, the second time that he went back to the Pagoda in order to retrace the route again (at Listener's Turn 6), he had problems with the expression 'go ahead' as in extracts (1) and (2). CL1 asked explicitly whether he should go up or down in order to 'go ahead' and this

time, though sounding surprised, the speaker responded to his request and explained that he should be going 'down'.

Extract (4): Finding the Statue/Monument

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
L: No I am stand in the end of the...the...				I didn't understand what I was told.
S: It...Palace Avenue is the street, uh, in which, uh, you have seen the Palace.				
L: Yeah, I see the palace and then go to opposite.	confirmation indication			
S: Yes, you will take, uh, this, uh, this street, Palace Avenue.				
L: Mmm, and then?	request for new information			
S: And then you will go to, uh, but...you will take this street from the opposite side, i mean, uh, you will, uh...				
L: Go to the, uh, opposite side of the...				
S: \of street.				
L: Yeah, and then turn back?	confirmation request			I couldn't find the Monument on my map. Moreover, I didn't quite understand the speaker because of her accent. Now that when I am watching the tape, I know that she was trying to tell me that it was a circle but I had difficulty in understanding her when I was doing the task.
S: And then you will see in front of, uh, you a monument.				
L Monument?	confirmation request			
S: It is, it is, uh, design by a circle in your map.				
L: \No...okay, I didn't see any monument.	confirmation indication			
S: Monument!				

L: Monument, monument? S: It is, uh, in a circle.	confirmation request			
L: Sorry? S: In your map must be a circle.	clarification request			
L: Circle, no. Uh, I just, uh, I can see the sea. **(Turn 11)** S: Uh, it is near the sea,	confirmation indication & initiation			
L: \Mmm. S: in your map, in your map, the sea, it is at, uh, the top of the sea on, uh, on a left hand, on your left hand.	comprehension indication			
L: I saw a museum of, uh...re...re... S: \Museum of Revolution.	initiation			
L: Yeah. S: Uh, that, uh, and at the left which is the lower of the Museum of Revolution,	confirmation indication			
L: \Hmhm. S: you will see the Monument.	comprehension indication			
L: Oh, that one! Yeah!	comprehension & confirmation indications		solved by negotiation	

CL1 was told to find the Monument which was 'a circle'. It is only from the interview that we know that CL1 did not actually catch the word 'circle'. From the transcript, CL1 seemed to understand what was told as he said, "Circle, no..." (Turn 11). However, he was able to tell the speaker that he could see the sea and the Museum of Revolution. Therefore, the speaker told him that the Monument was to the lower left of the Museum and the problem was solved through negotiation.

Extract (5): At the Fish Market/Market

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: And the you will, uh, uh, turn...				
L: Turn left?	confirmation request			
S: Along				
L: \The left or right?	clarification request			I stopped to find out my right or left position
S: Turn left.				
L: Turn left.	confirmation indication			
S: Toward the sea.				
L: Mmm.	comprehension indication		solved by negotiation	

CL1 was confused about orientation, so he had to stop and confirm with the speaker whether to go left or right. The speaker told him to turn left and made it clearer by specifying that he should be going towards the sea.

Extract (6): At the Museum

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: Uh, afterward, uh, you will return, uh, this street. You will return from, uh, to the same, uh, direction.				The speaker told me to go to the opposite direction, so I went to the west when I am out of the Museum. I didn't expect that I had to go back to the same route. I had already sort of formed the route in my mind. Therefore, I had to ask the speaker for more instruction.
L: Opposite direction?	confirmation request			
S: To the same direction.				
L: Okay, to the same direction. And then?	confirmation indication & request for new information			
S: And the, uh, you will, uh, turn right.				
L: Turn right, and then?	request for new information			
S: Uh, and, uh, in this street,				
L: \Mmm.	comprehension indication			
S: you will take this street to going down.				

L: Going down? Okay, okay, no, no, now I am in Museum. **(Turn 5)**	confirmation request & backtracking			
S: \Going down...you are in Museum in Progress Street.				
L: \Yeah...yeah.	comprehension indication			
S: Uh, take this street, uh...				
L: \Mmm.	comprehension indication			
S: toward the direction of the sea.				
L: Opposite?	confirmation request			
S: Yes.				
L: Opposite direction?	confirmation request			
S: Yes.				
L: And then?	request for new information			
S: Toward.				
L: Sorry?	clarification request			
S: Uh, you are toward, uh, the sea.				
L: Okay, let's try again. Now I will...	backtracking			
S: You will take, uh, off...				
L: Take what?	clarification request			
S: Progress Street.				
L: Yes, I am in Progress Street.	confirmation indication			
S: \Which is, yes, which is where the Museum.				
L: Mmm, I'm in Museum now. **(Turn 14)**	confirmation indication			
S: Yes, and you will, uh, turn...				
L: \Return?	confirmation request			
S: Uh. right.				
L: Turn...				
S: On the first, uh, corner.				
L: Turn right?	confirmation request		solved by negotiation	
S: Yes.				

As CL1 said in his interview, he had to some extent predicted the route in

his mind, so when he was told to go back to where he came from when coming out of the Museum, he was surprised as his hypothesis proved incorrect. In order to check whether he had heard it wrong, CL1 actually went back twice to the Museum (Turns 5 and 14) and asked the speaker to instruct him again from there.

Extract (7): At the Silk Mill

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: And then you will see a silk mill.				
L: See what?	clarification request			
S: Silk.				
L: Silk?	confirmation request			
S: S-I-L-K.				
L: S-I-L-K, no!	confirmation indication			I couldn't find the Silk Mill, so I suspected that I might have been on the wrong road. Thus, I had to ask the speaker more about the location of the Silk Mill.
S: It is at Progress Street, in this corner, in that corner.				
L: No.	confirmation indication			
S: It is, uh, this place is, uh, at the top of your map, at the, uh, no, at the bottom of your map.				
L: Bottom?	confirmation request			
S: Bottom of your map.				
L: On the right hand side or left hand side?	clarification request			
S: On, uh, on your, uh, right side.				
L: Right hand side?	confirmation request			
S: Yes, right hand side.				
L: No!	confirmation indication			
S: When you see the map...				
L: The sea, the sea is on my right hand side.	initiation			

S: Sea, uh, yes, when you see the map, uh, where is the sea? In which, uh, side?		listener's world acknowledged		
L: On my left, on my right hand side.	response			
S: On your right hand side, uh, uh...and, can you see a silk, a silk mill?				
L: Sorry?	clarification request			
S: It is a building.				
L: Building?	confirmation request			
S: That it is on the bottom of your map.				
L: Of your, of my?	clarification request			
S: Of your map.				
L: Bottom, on the left bottom or right bottom?	clarification request			
S: Right bottom.				
L: Right bottom is sea?	confirmation request			
S: Uh, but, uh...				
L: Factory, you mean?	confirmation request			
S: \Right in the middle.				
L: Sorry? Right little? Okay, try again, I'm in Museum and then?	clarification & confirmation requests & backtracking			
S: Uh, you can see this building in, uh, on your, uh, bottom of your map, which building can you see?		listener's world acknowledged		
L: On, on my right hand side bottom?	confirmation request			
S: Yes.				
L: The bottom of my right hand side, and then I saw a factory.	confirmation indication			
S: Factory?				
L: Yeah.	confirmation indication			
S: This one!				
L: Eh, I, I don't know.	confirmation indication			

S: This one, uh, factory, this is the only building, uh, you can, uh, in your map on the, uh, bottom of your, uh, map?				
L: Bottom, only the factory.	confirmation indication			
S: Yeah?				
L: Yeah.	confirmation indication			
S: Uh, this is at Progress Street? Is it at the Progress Street?				
L: \Yeah.	confirmation indication			
S: Yes, this is the building, uh, you will, uh, visit later on.		listener's world solution suggested	solved by using the listener's world solution	
L: \Oh, we will...mmm, and then?	request for new information			

We can see that the speaker tried to solve the problem by taking her partner's world into account when they were looking for the Silk Mill or Factory. She first asked CL1 which building he could see on his map; when CL1 told her that he could only see the Factory, she then checked with CL1 that it was at Progress Street and finally was able to decide that the only building that CL1 had at the right bottom of his map was the Silk Mill or the Factory.

Most of the above extracts were solved through negotiation. CL1 used 'backtracking' whenever problems were encountered. Moreover, his partner was able to take CL1's world into account (even in the first task), so problems were solved more quickly.

Test Task Two - Marathon

Extract (8): At the nursery

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: And, uh, you will, uh, pass along the nursery school, nursery.				
L: Nurses' school?	clarification request			I learned from the first task that there are differences in maps. Along the path,I was quite sure that I had taken the right direction so I didn't have problem here with the nursery. I had mispronounced it and didn't know what it meant until now in this interview.
S: Nursery!				
L: Nursery (pronounced as [nəʊsərɪ]).	confirmation indication			
S: It's okay?				
L: Nurses' school?	confirmation request			
S: Uh, yes.			solved by negotiation	

CL1 was quite confident that he was on the right route so even though he had a problem with the word 'nursery' and mistook it for 'nurses' school', when he saw the unmarked empty box in front of him, he took it to be where the nursery was.

Extract (9): At the corner of the nursery

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: And, uh, you will take...you will, uh, sit, uh, you will stand in the middle...of, uh, these pathways,				
L: \Yeah.	comprehension indication			The speaker told me to stand in the middle of the 'pathway', I stood there in the middle and was thinking which was the route the speaker would ask me to take.
S: and, uh, you will, uh, take,				
L: \Mmm.	comprehension indication			
S: the one, uh, pathway that is, uh, on your, uh, right.				

L: Take the...path on the right? S: On the right. The, uh, one that is on your right. L: Hmhm. S: It's okay? L: Yeah.	confirmation request confirmation indication confirmation indication		solved by further instruction	

On the videotape, CL1 was seen to hesitate at the corner of the nursery. As there were three paths in front of him, he waited there for further instruction to see which path he was going to take, but did not make that explicit to the speaker.

Extract (10): On the way to Park Club/Bowling Green

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: Okay, you will, uh, go along this street, uh, till the end of this street. It's okay?				
L: Go along the street?	confirmation request			
S: Yes, till the end.				
L: Which one...which street?	clarification request			
S: This street, uh, that I had described! the right, uh, uh, pathway,				
L: \Hmhm.	comprehension indication			
S: which is, uh, which you took before.				
L: Mmm, how about we start from the tennis court?	backtracking			
S: Tennis court?				
L: Yeah.	confirmation indication			
S: Start from the beginning of tennis court?				
L: Yeah.	confirmation indication			

S: Okay, uh...you will, uh, uh, when you will be in the, uh, street, in the pathway that is outside the tennis court, L: \Hmhm. S: uh,,,you will go along this street. L: Street or path? S: This pathway, sorry. L: Yeah.	comprehension indication clarification request comprehension indication		solved by negotiation	The speaker told me to go along the street. i had to ask which street because I could find no streets in the Park, except paths. I thought I might have taken the wrong route so I had asked the speaker to go back to the tennis courts which I think, at that time, was the most obvious place of reference for both of us. I didn't seem to have problem with the Park Club because after my experience with the first task, I knew quite sure that the Park Club is the same as the Bowling Green.

The speaker's use of the word 'street' had confused CL1 as he thought there were only 'paths' in the Park, so he suggested going back to the previous point and starting from there again. However, the speaker again used the word 'street', and this time, CL1 was able to make a clarification request to find out if it should have been 'street' or 'path'. Also, CL1 was more conscious of using his experience on the previous map task.

Extract (11): At the snacks/cafe

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: And then, uh, in, you are in the corner that this, uh, uh, where, where is a cafe, cafeteria.				
L: No, ju...just s...snacks.	confirmation indication			
S: Just snacks?				
L: Snacks.	confirmation indication			
S: Yes, it could be, maybe the same, and, uh, crossing this square,		arbitrary solution suggested		
L: \Hmhm.	comprehension indication			
S: with the cafe or snacks, it maybe the same,				
L: \Hmhm.	comprehension indication			
S: uh, you will, uh, you will cross the grassy...uh...field.				
L: Yeah.	comprehension indication			
S: The grassy area.				
L: Cross the grassy area?	confirmation request			The speaker told me to cross the grass area so I went across from one side to another until I was told to go to the lake. Then i realised that I might have the wrong route as I couldn't go to the lake from there.
S: Grassy area, that it is between this pathway. You will take this pathway.				
L: Mmm.	comprehension indication			
S: That it is between the buildings.				
L: Mmm, and then?	request for new information			
S: \And, and then you will see, uh, the lake.				
L: Oh! And then?	comprehension indication & request for new information		solved by further instruction	

The speaker suggested that the snacks that CL1 had on his map was probably the cafe that she had on hers. CL1 accepted that solution and was told to "cross the grassy area". On the video, CL1 was seen to go in the wrong direction and did not realise until he was told that he should see a lake from there. At that

point, CL1 knew that he was on the wrong path so he quickly went back to the right route that leads to the lake.

Extract (12): At the round pool

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: Okay, now you, you are just, uh, you are just...you are in the place, in the pathway,				
L: \Hmhm.	comprehension indication			
S: but, uh, you look in which you can look, uh, the lake. It's okay?				
L: Hmhm.	confirmation indication			
S: And you will, uh, turn right. **(Turn 3)**				
L: Turn right and then?	request for new information			
S: You take this pathway,				
L: \Mmm.	comprehension indication			
S: round the lake.				
L: And then?	request for new information			
S: But, uh, then you will, uh, turn right.				
L: And then turn right?	confirmation request			
S: Yes, so that...to go to the swimming pool.				
L: Mmm.	comprehension indication			
S: It's okay?				
L: Yeah.	confirmation indication			
S: And then where are you can see the swimming pool, you will turn left. **(Turn 9)**				
L: Turn left.	confirmation indication			
S: And then you will take the pathway around the, uh, swimming pool. **(Turn 10)**				

L: Around the swimming pool? S: Yes. L: No..okay, uh, uh, not around the swimming pool? **(Turn 11)** S: Round! It is, uh, it is the pathway of this, uh, exactly out...outside the swimming pool. L: Mmm, I, I, I saw the three pathway. S: Can you repeat what can you see? L: Yeah, I, I can see the swimming pool but in front of swimming pool, there has three pathway. S: Then you, uh, take this, uh, pathway to the swimming pool. L: But...which one? S: Uh...okay, when are you...will be in the pathway from which you can see the pool. L: Yeah, I see, I see the swimming pool.	confirmation request confirmation request initiation confirmation indication clarification request confirmation indication		erroneous conclusion drawn by negotiation	The speaker told me to turn left and go around the pool, but I found that if I had turned left, I would be going away from the pool. At that time, I thought the pool she meant was that rectangular one.

A misunderstanding arose in the above extract when the speaker did not specify which of the two pools she was referring to and the problem was not recognised by CL1. At Speaker's Turn 3, CL1 was told to turn right, which led him to the rectangular pool. At Speaker's Turns 9 and 10, he was told to turn left and go around the pool. He told his partner that he could not go around the pool (Listener's Turn 11) and there were three paths in front of him. However, his partner simply told him to take the path that leads him to the pool and go around it. The participants did negotiate to try to find their way, but negotiation does not

always lead to the right conclusion.

Extract (13): At the finishing point

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: Round the pool.				
L: Yeah.	comprehension indication			
S: And, uh...then you will, uh, terminate, you will see a corner. Can you see a corner?				
L: Yeah.	confirmation indication			
S: Uh...in this corner, there will be a gate for, uh, finishing.				Now I know that the last bit is wrong because I had run around the rectangular pool instead of the round one. However, when I was doing the task, I thought I didn't have problems with the finishing point. I though the instructions given were all quite clear. I though I had finished my marathon smoothly.
L: For...what?	clarification request			
S: For finishing your race, your marathon race!				
L: \Oh, oh, yes.	comprehension indication			
S: Yes?				
L: Yeah.	confirmation indication			
S: It is immediately through that corner. It's okay?				
L: Yeah.	confirmation indication		erroneous conclusion drawn by negotiation	

CL1 thought that he did not have a problem with the finishing point, as is clear from his interview. However, on his transparency map, the last stretch of route to the finishing point was not drawn to match the one on the speaker's map. On the whole, though, CL1 was able to find his way on the Marathon map until the last stretch, in which negotiation was involved but did not lead to a successful solution.

Test Task Three - Silver Island

Extract (14): At the starting point

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: Yeah,uh...it is the...the only, uh, uh, big bay, uh, beach, uh, which is...uh...				
L: Is it near to...				
S: What?				
L: Is it near to river?	confirmation request			
S: River, I don't, uh, no. It is not a river in my map because, uh, I know we don't have the same map. It is the middle, uh, of the, uh...it is on the middle of the Island but, uh, this beach,				
L: \Mmm?	clarification request			I have difficulty understanding the speaker's accent. Moreover, I was not sure which beach the speaker was referring.
S: is, uh, at the left side, the bottom left side.				
L: Mmm, but in my...map, there's two sandy beach.	initiation			
S: Uh...you will not get off in the one sandy beach which is in the bottom side of the Island.				
L: Hmhm.	comprehension indication			
S: Eh...one other beaches on the bottom but in the, uh, left direction of the Island.				
L: Left direction.	confirmation indication			
S: Yes, left.				
L: Yeah.	comprehension indication			
S: Bo...left bottom.				
L: Mmm.	comprehension indication			
S: Can you find this? Eh...I find two sandy...sandy beach. Their position, uh, down?				
L: The other what?	clarification request			

S: The, the one beach which is down.				
L: Down? Describe more! **(Turn 10)**	confirmation request & request for new information			
S: Can you go to the Holy Mountain in your, uh, map?				
L: Yeah, there are some mountain.	confirmation indication			
S: Holy Mountain, eh...have you got any beach, uh, as you look at the Holy Mountain in your map?				
L: Yeah.	confirmation indication			
S: Have you got any beach which is, uh, in the left side of the Holy Mountain?		listener's world acknowledged		
L: Eh...one big one on the, uh, right hand side of the beach and then the other left hand side.	confirmation indication			
S: On the left, yes. I mean the one with the position on the left hand side				
L: \Okay.	comprehension indication			
S: \of the Holy Mountain.				
L: Yeah.	confirmation indication		solved by negotiation	

CL1 did not tell the speaker that he did not actually have Holy Mountain on his map but he did say that there were two sandy beaches. The speaker told him the position of the sandy beaches to which CL1 responded with comprehension indications. However, as revealed by the interview, he had actually not understood the speaker at that point. He tried to ask for more information (Listener's Turn 10) about which beach was the starting point and the problem was solved through negotiation.

Extract (15): At the mountain near the starting point

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: And you will have this mountain on your left.				
L: And then?	request for new information			
S: And then...				
L: Climb on, climb on to the top of the mountain or pass?	clarification request			I was not sure if I had to climb up to the top of the mountain or walk past on the right side or left side. The speaker just told me to go straight.
S: What?				
L: Climb on to the top of the mountain or just pass by the mountain?	clarification request			
S: Pass by, uh, beside the mountain.				
L: Mmm, which side, left hand side or right?	clarification request			
S: Left, uh, you will get the left, uh, on your left hand side of the mountain.				
L: And then?	request for new information			
S: And then you will go straight.			erroneous conclusion drawn by negotiation	
L: Go straight.				

On the video, CL1 was seen to pass the left side of the mountain according to instruction given, though he should have gone up north and round the mountain as the route marked on the speaker's map. The speaker seemed to give instruction using Holy Mountain as the focus point, whereas CL1 used the other mountain as his focus point. Thus, they had different 'left'. From the transcript, it seems that CL1 did not have problems at all, the negotiation appeared successful. It was not until one saw the transparency map that the route marked was shown to be wrong.

Extract (16): At the forest

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: And if you reach at the, uh, can you tell me what else do you have in your map?		listener's world acknowledged		
L: A forest in front of, uh, in front of me.	response			
S: Ah, forest!				
L: Yeah.	confirmation indication			I stopped there to wait for more instruction.
S: Yes, so after reaching the end of the, of the...after approaching the beach as you go straight.				
L: After the...go straight.	confirmation indication		solved by further instruction	

CL1 was seen on the video stopping in front of the forest. Again, he just waited for further instructions to be given.

Extract (17): At the mountains near the lake

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: Yes, this, uh, you will have this mountain on your, uh...left hand side. **(Turn 1)**				
L: Left hand side?	confirmation request			
S: Yes.				
L: And then?	request for new information			
S: And then, uh, is there any other forest, uh, at the bottom of the mountain, of the small mountain?				
L: Behind the small mountain is a...				
S: \Yes.				

L: forest. S: Yes, so...you will after reaching this small mountain, L: \Yeah. S: you will go around this mountain, L: And then? S: Uh... L: To the forest? S: Uh...you will not, uh, you will go, you will not, uh, go through the forest. L: Go through the forest? S: Not, not, not go through the forest. L: Not to go through, and then? S: But, uh, you will, uh, go round this small mountain. L: Yeah. S: Go round this small mountain. L: Yeah.	confirmation indication comprehension indication request for new information confirmation request confirmation request request for new information comprehension indication comprehension indication		erroneous conclusion drawn by negotiation	I stopped to make sure which direction I should go. Then the speaker told me to go round the mountains so I did.

CL1 was told that he should have the mountains on his left after he had crossed the river (Speaker's Turn 1). The speaker at this point was giving instruction from the walker's perspective, whereas CL1 adopted the map-reader's perspective. Therefore, this stretch of route was drawn differently from that of the speaker's. Moreover, CL1 was seen to go round the mountains until he was told that he should not go through the forest; he then went straight according to instruction.

Extract (18): Finding the Mine

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: Can you describe me where you are?				
L: Now, I'm, uh, in the second mountain.	response			
S: Yeah.				
L: I count it from the bottom.	initiation			
S: What?				
L: From the, uh...				
S: From the top or from the bottom?				
L: Yeah, I count it from the bottom.	confirmation indication			
S: From the bottom the second?				
L: Yeah.	confirmation indication			
S: I mean the, uh, second from the top.				
L: Second from the top?	confirmation request			The only problem I had was counting the mountains from the bottom before I realised that I should count them from the top.
S: Yes.				
L: It means, uh, near the forest, that one.	confirmation indication			
S: Yes, near the forest, yes.				
L: Oh!	comprehension indication			
S: So you can correct it and you can go to, at the second mountain.				
L: Hmhm.	comprehension indication			
S: If you start to, to calculate it, uh, from the top,				
L: \Yeah.	comprehension indication			
S: and, uh, at this one is the Mine.				
L: Oh, between the second and the third one?	confirmation request			
S: Yeah, between the second and the third.				
L: Now I'm in this, I' in there.	confirmation indication		solved by negotiation	

CL1 was told to go to the second mountain first to find the mine. He went there and was asked by the speaker to confirm where he was. They went through it again and realised that CL1 had gone to the second mountain in the south rather than going to the one in the north. He was then told to go to the right mountain where the Mine could be found.

In the final task, Silver Island, the speaker changed her overall strategy. Instead of simply giving instructions, she asked CL1 to describe what he had on his map and was therefore able to see things as her partner did. Quantitatively speaking, CL1 had the highest number of utterances in the category of Request for New Information among the other listeners. Of a total of 64 of these requests made in the map series, 92% of them were 'and thens' which CL1 had used to signal to the speaker to move on. From the pragmatic point of view, CL1 may have achieved his purpose of asking for information, but from the learning point of view, there appears to have been little change in his strategy.

- LISTENER CL2

Test Task One - Tai Tu

Extract (1): At Beijing Road

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
L: Turn to the right on the street. S: Yes, straight ahead. L: Straight ahead. S: And pass the crossroad and the next crossroad which is Beijing Road. I'll spell it B-E-I-J-I-N-G, okay? Turn to the left. L: Turn to the left. S: Okay? L: Hmhm.	confirmation indication confirmation indication confirmation indication confirmation indication		solved by further instruction	I stopped to let the speaker finish because I was afraid that I may have missed something when I was concentrating on drawing the route. I didn't want to make a mess of the map. I think the speaker speaks very clearly but it is I who have listening problem sometimes.

CL2 could be seen to stop as soon as she walked into Beijing Road; she explains in the interview that she simply stopped for the speaker to finish giving her the instructions.

Extract (2): At the Pagoda

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: And in the end, you will find a pagoda. **(Turn 1)** L: Oh! S: You understand me? L: Yes. S: Okay, after that, uh, you will come out of the Pagoda, the Pagoda and you will be again the same street. L: Yeah.	comprehension indication comprehension indication comprehension indication		solved by listening more carefully	I was not listening carefully and when I realised that I could not go further and at the same time, I heard the speaker telling me to find a pagoda, then I knew that I had to go into the Pagoda.

CL2 hesitated because, as she said, she was not paying sufficient attention to the speaker. On the video, CL2 was seen to go past the Pagoda as the speaker told her it was 'in the end' (Turn 1) of the street. However, as soon as she heard the rest of the instruction, "you will find a pagoda", she realised that she had gone rather too far.

Extract (3): At Palace Avenue

	interactional	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: The Palace? Palace Avenue, it's there. You have turned to the right,				I didn't really hesitate. The speaker spoke very slowly but clearly. He told me to turn right to go to Palace Avenue, so I followed his instruction. I went straight on and later was told to visit the Palace.
L: \Hmhm.	comprehension indication			
S: then cross road and this is your own Palace Avenue. The first building on your right.				
L: The Palace, Palace Avenue there?	confirmation request			
S: Mmm, okay? The first building on your right is the Palace.				
L: Yes.	confirmation indication		solved by further instruction	

CL2 was seen hesitating but explained in the interview that she was simply waiting for more instruction.

Extract (4): Coming out of the Palace

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: You will come out again				
L: \Hmhm.	comprehension indication			
S: and you must turn to the left.				
L: Turn to the left.	confirmation indication			I was confused with 'left' and 'right'. The speaker told me to turn left when coming out of the Palace but somehow, I thought it was 'right' he meant.
S: Hmhm. This is left and absolutely round of your former course,				
L: \Hmhm.	comprehension indication			
S: and you will cross.				
L: Turn to the right? Turn to...	confirmation request			
S: Left.				
L: to the left, okay.	confirmation indication			

It is not entirely clear from her interview why CL2 was confused over 'left' and 'right'. It could have been due to the fact that the speaker adopted the walker's perspective and told CL2 to turn left when she came out of the Palace. However, CL2 was possibly looking at it from the map-reader's perspective, in which turning 'left' would be turning 'right'. She finally solved the problem by confirming it again with her partner.

Extract (5): At the Statue/Monument

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: Once you have visit the Museum of Revolution and the Monument, you can go out of the Monument and turn to the left or to southern of the map,				
L: \Go out from the Museum of Revolution.	confirmation indication			I went in the Museum first because I was told that I could visit the Museum. Afterwards, I went to the Statue suspecting that it might be the Monument. As the speaker told me that the Monument which is the Statue in my map was on the south of the Museum of Revolution so I thought the Statue was the Monument. I went to the Statue from the north entrance and came out from the other entrance because I thought that was a sensible thing to do as the entrance from which I came out was on the main street.
S: and go to the Monument, okay?				
L: Monument...the Statue then, you mean?	confirmation request			
S: The Monument is lying to the south of the Museum.		unacknow-ledged problem		
L: Okay.	confirmation indication			
S: Okay? Uh, when, when you come on, you will come out of the Museum. You will again the Monument, okay?				
L: Okay.				
S: And while still there, you will come out of the Monument, you will be on the street.				
L: On which street?	clarification request			
S: I don't know because I haven't here the name of the street.				
L: Okay, I understand.	comprehension indication			
S: And you turn to the left.				
L: Turn to the left.	confirmation indication			
S: And turn to the southern.				

L: Mmm. S: You'll be in the next crossroad. L: Right!	comprehension indication comprehension indication		solved by CL2's assumption	

It is not clear why the speaker asked CL2 to visit the Museum of Revolution, which is not on the itinerary. Although CL2 repeatedly told the speaker that she had a statue on her map, the speaker ignored that and kept telling her that he had a monument. Finally, CL2 had to assume that the Statue was the Monument, and as a result entered it from the wrong door. The speaker told her to come out onto a street whose name he could not tell her. CL2 replied that she understood and assumed that she should come out onto the main street, as she thought that was "a sensible thing to do". CL2's 'logical' assumption creates a risk of drawing the wrong route as some of the built-in referential problems in the task series are designed to be beyond the expectation of the listener.

Extract (6) : At the Market

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: There is three gate to come to, come into the Fish Market.				
L: Mmm.	comprehension indication			
S: You will, eh, you will come into the Fish Market by the main entrance,				
L: \Mmm.	comprehension indication			I know that here I went in from the wrong entrance. I remember at that time I was told to go into Fish Market. I thought the speaker had told me to go also to the main entrance. After that,
S: which is in front of the sea, okay? After you have visit the Fish Market, you will be on the street again,				
L: \Mmm.	comprehension indication			
S: and so long in Fish Market you will be in Progress Street, okay?				the speaker asked me to go out of the Market and walk on to Progress Street so I didn't question him again which entrance I was supposed to go out of as there was only one entrance on Progress Street. I thought that must be the one.
L: Mmm	confirmation indication			
S: Okay, straight ahead Progress Street and cross the first crossroad,				
L: \Mmm.	comprehension indication			
S: and you will be on the second crossroad.				
L: Mmm.	comprehension indication		erroneous conclusion drawn by CL2	
S: Okay? Straight ahead and on your right, you will have a museum.				
L: Mmm.	confirmation indication			

The speaker told her to go into the Fish Market from the main entrance and CL2 did not ask which of the three entrances was the main one, so she took one which she thought was the main one. The same thing happened again when she came out of the Market. Again, CL2's 'logical' assumption was at risk as in the previous extract. CL2 should have asked and not have been simply assumed that what she did was 'sensible'.

Extract (7): Coming out of the Museum

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: After that, you, you will come out of the Museum.				
L: Yeah.	comprehension indication			
S: You will turn again to the left, your left,				
L: \Mmm.	comprehension indication			
S: make it the opposite direction before, **(Turn 3)**				
L: \Mmm.	comprehension indication			The speaker said something about the opposite direction so I misunderstood it and thought that I should go to the other direction. The speaker then asked me to find a silk mill. I couldn't find it so I thought I might have gone to a wrong direction. Therefore, I went back to the Museum and asked if I should turn right or left.
S: and you will be in... on the crossroad.				
L: \Mmm.	comprehension indication			
S: And turn to your right. In the end the, eh, on your left you will have the Silk Mill, okay?				
L: Eh, wait a minute, I can't find a silk mill.	confirmation indication			
S: You have...				
L: I turn from, from the,				
S: \to...				
L: from the front of, of Progress Street.	confirmation indication			
S: Mmm.				

L: Then I turn left. S: Yes, and you will be again in a crossroad, L: \Huhuh. S: eh, turn to your right. L: From the Museum, I turn left and turn right? S: Yes, first when you have to, uh, out of the Museum, you turn to your, your, left, L: \Right. S: and you, you will arrive to a crossroad. L: Mmm.	confirmation indication comprehension indication confirmation request comprehension indication comprehension indication		solved by negotiation	

Here the speaker was wrong when he said CL2 should go in the opposite direction when she came out of the Museum (Speaker's Turn 3). CL2 did not realise this until she was told to find a silk mill, which she could not find. She then negotiated confirmation of the route that she should have taken.

Extract (8): At the Silk Mill

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
L: Is it the right hand side of a factory?	confirmation request			
S: (Silence)				
L: There is a factory on the right hand side.	initiation			
S: There's a factory?				
L: Yeah.	confirmation indication			
S: Haven't here a factory, but this is, it is to go out of the Museum, okay? Turn to the left and you will be on a crossroad,				
L: \Mmm.	comprehension indication			
S: eh, turn to the right in, eh, in this, eh, crossroad.				
L: Turn to the right?	confirmation request			
S: Okay? Immediately, immediately on your left,				
L: \Mmm.	comprehension indication			
S: you have a silk mill. The main entrance of Silk Mill,				
L: \Silk mill?	confirmation request			
S: silk mill, M-I-double-L, okay?				
L: No, can't find a silk mill.	confirmation indication			
S: Silk mill, you have turn to your right in the crossroad?				
L: Yeah.	confirmation indication			
S: Yeah?				
L: Only the factory and...				
S: Maybe this, that the factory were right on your right?				
L: Yes.	confirmation indication			
S: Yes, opposite this, there is a silk mill, okay?		arbitrary solution suggest-ed		
L: No, I can't find it in the map.	confirmation indication			
S: Mmm?				

L: I can't find the Silk Mill on my map.	confirmation indication			
S: Yes, the Silk Mill is opposite this factory,				
L: \Mmm?	clarification request			
S: the other side of this street.		arbitrary solution suggest-ed		
L: Huhuh? Well, when I...	clarification request			
S: The build,				
L: \when I, when I came out of, when I came out from the Museum,				
S: Okay.				
L: the street is Progress, Progress Street.	confirmation indication			
S: Progress Street.				
L: When I turn left, then I turn left and go straight and go to a junction, a crossroad.	confirmation indication			
S: A crossroad, Progress Street, okay?				
L: When I turn to right.	confirmation indication			
S: Okay, turn to your right.				
L: Turn to my right.	confirmation indication			
S: Okay.				
L: My right hand side...In front of my right hand side, a factory.	confirmation indication			I couldn't find the Silk Mill and I thought I might have taken a wrong route because there didn't seem to be able to go further. The speaker told me that in front of the Factory was the Silk Mill so even though the place was not marked, I took his words and didn't think it was wrong.
S: Okay.				
L: Nothing else.	confirmation indication			
S: Okay, and in the other side of this, this street, it is the Silk Mill, okay?		arbitrary solution suggest-ed		
L: Well, go on.	request for new information			
S: This is the, the opposite building,				
L: \Mmm?	clarification request			
S: in that street.				
L: The opposite building of the factory?	confirmation request			
S: Yeah, I haven't got any factory but I can imagining it.				

L: Huhuh, so?	clarification request			
S: Can you find the, the building in the other, in the other side of the street?				
L: Yeah, only a factory.	confirmation indication			
S: Factory? But the Silk Mill is in the opposite building of the same street. You have a factory and I have a silk mill (laughing).		arbitrary solution suggest-ed		
L: (Laughing) Well, just told me the...				
S: Eh, you have the factory on your right.				
L: Yeah.	confirmation indication			
S: But on your left is the Silk Mill.				
L: Well, turn to the right or when I came out of the crossroad,				
S: \Yeah.				
L: and on my right hand side is the factory.	confirmation indication			
S: In front of your right side, right hand side.				
L: Right hand side is factory.	confirmation indication			
S: Okay, on your left is the Silk Mill, okay?				
L: Oh, then, on the just, on the right hand is the factory, on the left is the Silk Mill.	confirmation indication			
S: Okay?				
L: Okay.	confirmation indication		solved by speaker's arbitrary solution	

The speaker did not do very much to take his partner's world into account when he decided arbitrarily that the Silk Mill was opposite the Factory. On the video, CL2 was seen to mark the place opposite to the Factory thinking that it was the Silk Mill and then she went back to the Hotel from there.

As we have seen in the various extracts, CL2 managed to solve some of her problems by making 'logical' assumptions. She could have asked the speaker for more information if she was not sure instead of relying on what she regarded as common sense or plausibility. Further, the speaker was sometimes unable to take his partner's world into account and even tried to solve the problem, as in the last extract, by imposing an arbitrary solution. The effect of having these two particular partners together was communicatively undesirable, as one tried to tackle the problem with common sense, whereas the other, instead of considering what his partner had on her map, imposed his own solution. Negotiation may have taken place but it could not lead to a correct solution.

Test Task Two - Marathon

Extract (9): At the junction in front of the nursery

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: Yes, you are straight ahead.				
L: Straight ahead.	confirmation indication			
S: Okay.				
L: I, I, I meet three different ways.	initiation			
S: No!				
L: When I straight, straight...				The speaker told me to go straight even though I told him that I had three different ways ahead of me. Therefore, I just couldn't understand what he meant by going straight until I told him again that I had three different ways in front of me. Then he told me to take the one in the south.
S: You must, must, uh, you mus...you have to run, uh, straight ahead.		unacknow-ledged problem		
L: Straight ahead, but I got three road.	confirmation indication			
S: Hmhm.				
L: Three...				
S: The most...the way that lies most to the southern.				
L: Oh!	comprehension indication			
S: Okay?				
L: Then...				
S: Do you understand me?		compre-hension check	solved by negotiation	
L: Yes.	confirmation indication			

CL2 was told to go straight ahead and when she told her partner that she had three paths in front of her, her contribution appears to have been ignored. Whether the speaker had heard her comment about the three paths is not clear. It was not until CL2 repeated that there were three different paths in front of her that her partner acknowledged the problem and told her to go to the one that "lies most to the southern".

Extract (10): At the snacks/cafe

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: Until the next gate, mmm, there is a cafe.				
L: Mmm.	confirmation indication			I hesitated because I wanted to think if a snack bar is the same as a cafe. I had the experience with the first task, so I thought I was right in taking the Snacks as the Cafe. When I arrived at the Cafe, I was not sure of which way to turn, whether I turned left or right until I told the speaker that I had a pool in front of me and the speaker said I had turned the right way.
S: In front of this gate, a little building square,				
L: \Huhuh.	confirmation indication			
S: and you, you turn, uh, you must surround this build.				
L: Go around?	confirmation request			
S: Yeah, yeah, absolutely going around.				
L: Mmm.	comprehension indication			
S: When you are, uh, you...				
L: When I stand in front of the cafe,				
S: \Yes?				
L: then?	request for new information			
S: Turn to the right.				
L: Turn to the right hand side.	confirmation indication			
S: Turn to the right and straight ahead,				

L: \Straight ahead. S: un...until the lake.	confirmation indication			
L: Until the lake? S: Okay? I don't know if you have the word 'lake' but you...turn...you can find it.	confirmation request			
L: So...I'll got across the, the road in between the cafe and the gate? S: Okay, yes.	confirmation request			
L: Or, or I would turn, go straight, straight, go across the gate, then... S: No.				
L: or...when I go to the...just in front, when stand just in front of the cafe S: \Yes				
L: and go ahead, then turn, turn right hand and to the South Way, south side, to the direction of so...south? S: No, let me see, uh, you have...arrive to the cafe, okay?	confirmation request			
L: Yeah. S: And turn right,	confirmation indication			
L: \Turn right hand. S: and immediately turn...	confirmation request			
L: Then, then the pool will in front of me, isn't it? S: Yes, exactly! There is a, a swimming pool.	confirmation request			
L: \A pool, a swimming pool in front of me.	confirmation indication	solved by negotiation		

When CL2 was told to go to a cafe, she did not mention to her partner that she had snacks instead of a cafe, but instead assumed that they were synonymous; as she said in her interview, her assumption was based on her experience with her first task. Thus, she had no problem going to the cafe but then did not know

which way to turn when she got there, until she had checked with her partner that there was a swimming pool in front of her.

Extract (11): At the lake

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: Turn to the right and surround the lake,				
L: \Turn to the right, huhuh.	confirmation indication			
S: and surrounding the lake.				
L: Do I have to go around the lake? **(Turn 2)**	confirmation request			At first, the speaker told me to run round the lake but I was not told how much further I had to run so I had to confirm with him. By the time I ran to the road leading to the round pool, I didn't realise that it was a pool at first because there was no writing on it until I saw the pattern of waves. Also, the speaker told me at the same time that the pool was round.
S: Not completely round.				
L: But just run...go to the south, no go to the north. **(Turn 3)**	confirmation indication			
S: To the south, yes.				
L: Go to the north? Because you ask me when I stand in front of the lake, I turn right hand side. The right hand side road is the northern, the northern.	confirmation request & indication			
S: Yeah, you...you...				
L: The northern way?	confirmation request		solved by negotiation	
S: You must surround the lake,				
L: \Yeah.	confirmation indication			
S: By its northern part.				
L: Okay, yes, I am.	confirmation indication			

Although CL2 did not comment on it in her interview, it appears that she was at first unsure of the intended meaning of 'surround', otherwise she would not have posed the question at Turn 2. Then she was confused over the direction at Turn 3 but immediately corrected herself in the following turn. The speaker, too, seemed to be confused about 'north' and 'south': he said "to the south" first and

then, after CL2's confirmation request, told her that she should go round the lake "by its northern part".

Extract (12): At the finishing point

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: You must finish the Marathon in your right.				
L: Must finish what?	clarification request			
S: Yes.				
L: What is...I must finish what? Can you repeat again?	clarification requests			I was told to finish outside the building, so I thought that must be the Kid's Corner the speaker was referring to. However, he said he did not have the Corner so I had to ask again and was told to go west. He also said something 'marathon' and I couldn't find 'marathon' on my map because at that time, I thought 'marathon' was a place as I did not know the meaning. Then the speaker told me to finish on the grass and I didn't know which patch of grass he meant as there were many in the Park. As he didn't clarify, I had to ask if I was to stop in front of the building - Kid's Corner. As it was confirmed so I stopped there thinking that it was where I finished.
S: You, you must finish the Marathon. This is				
L: Marathon?	confirmation request			
S: Yes.				
L: Oh, that means when I go, when I finish it, when I stop here, I'll finish the Marathon.	confirmation indication			
S: Yeah. The Marathon finish in your right,				
L: \Hmhm.	comprehension indication			
S: in the north part				
L: \Hmhm.	comprehension indication			
S: of the west, of the west way.				
L: No, I still don't understand, I am sorry.	clarification request			
S: When you have surrounded the pool,				
L: \Hmhm.	comprehension indication			
S: okay? You will find two ways.				
L: Yes.	confirmation indication			
S: One to the north and one to the...west.				
L: \West?	confirmation request			
S: You must run through the west one and the Marathon finish on your right before to arrive the square building.				
L: I must finish? I still don't understand the sentence. I will finish the...?	clarification requests			
S: Finish the Marathon?				

L: Marathon?	confirmation request			
S: Marathon!				
L: What, uh...?	clarification request			
S: The run, this is a running.				
L: Run, running?	confirmation request			
S: Yes, I am explain to you the...				
L: \Well...				
S: way of, uh, running.				
L: Well, I, I don't have the running.	confirmation indication			
S: Marathon, marathon is the name, uh, uh, running competition.				
L: Oh! Oh...okay, in my map I couldn't find... the thing which...	comprehension indication			
S: Yes, we, we have a start...				
L: But I only, I only, I only, I only... met...uh...Kid Corner which is a building in front of me, so...	confirmation indication			
S: The building in front of you is at the end of the way?				
L: Yes,	comprehension indication			
S: Okay, but you will finish in your right.				
L: Huhuh.	comprehension indication			
S: Before to arrive this square building.				
L: Huhuh.	comprehension indication			
S: So the difference with my information not only the, the names of the ways,				
L: Yes.	comprehension indication			
S: and also...this is the difference is that I nave the name - Marathon.				
L: Hmhm.	comprehension indication			
S: You have other name, maybe run, running or competition,				
L: \Yeah.	comprehension indication			

S: something like that. Have you finished?				
L: Em...I stand in front of the Kid...of the square building.	confirmation indication			
S: Okay.				
L: Then?	request for new information			
S: The finish, you will finish the Marathon of the run in your right				
L: \Hmhm.	comprehension indication			
S: coming into the grass.				
L: Coming into the grass. Then?	confirmation indication & request for new information			
S: Then...you want me to repeat it, the route as a whole?		back-tracking suggested		
L: Well, the, then I will finish the visit of this park?	confirmation request			
S: Yes.				
L: Oh, you must repeat again from the circular lake (laughing).	backtracking			

CL2 and her partner spent a long time trying to find the finishing point. One of the problems was that CL2 did not know what 'marathon' was at that time and thought that it might be a place in the Park that she had to visit. She could have asked in the first place for the meaning of 'marathon', but she did not do so; as a result, until it was explained by her partner, she still did not fully understand the situation. Finally, she was told to finish on the grass in front of a square building. At that point, they wanted to go back to the lake and retrace the route. As the extract is rather long, we will just look at its final section.

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
L: Just stand in front of the...				
S: \Once, once you have surrounded the circular pool,				

L: \Yes S: you will come into the way, the west way. L: Hmhm. S: Okay? And you will finish immediately L: \Hmhm. S: in your right, into the grass. L: Grass? S: Grass! G-R-A-double S. L: But, but, they got a lot of grass in this park? S: A lot of grass? L: Yeah, because I, I still stand in front of the square building at the, which is at the end of the road. But I don't know where I am going. S: No, no, no. You must not go until the end of the road. L: Yes. S: Once, once you have surrounded the pool. L: Hmhm yes, I... S: Immediately at your right, finish the Marathon in the grass. L: Oh! You got...you don't have any building in your...in front of you, square building? S: No. L: No, so I stop. I, I, my journey stop in front of the building, right? S: Hmhm. L: Okay. S: Immediately your right. L: Yeah.	comprehension indication comprehension indication comprehension indication confirmation request clarification request confirmation indication & clarification request comprehension indication comprehension indication comprehension indication & confirmation request confirmation indication & request comprehension indication comprehension indication			

S: It's not necessary to go at the end of this way. L: Okay, and not necessary... S: It's not necessary. L: Okay. S: You turn to your right and finish the run into the grass. L: Into the grass, okay then.	 comprehension indication confirmation indication		 erroneous conclusion drawn by negotiation	

The problem was not really solved in the end, as CL2 simply made an assumption about where to finish. CL2 gave frequent comprehension indications which did not signal real understanding. For example, when she was told to finish on the grass immediately on her right, CL2 seemed to miss the information; in the interview she said that her partner did not clarify on which patch of grass she should finish. However, on the video she did not seem to have any problem getting the message and appeared to understand it. At the end of the task, she checked a final time with her partner that she should 'run into the grass'; however, on the video it can be seen that she stopped in front of the building (Kid's Corner in her version).

On this second task, the participants were able to solve most of their difficulties through negotiation. However, as pointed out earlier, negotiation does not guarantee achieving a correct 'product', i.e. the route drawn on the map, as shown in the last extract. Moreover, like other listeners, CL2 used responses which appeared appropriate but did not actually signal comprehension.

Test Task Three - Silver Island

Extract (13): At the starting point

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: Yes, between two more mountains. L: Huhuh, uh, okay, I am fine now. **(Turn 1)** S: Okay? L: Mmm, is it, is it, is there any corner? S: Yes, L: \Okay. S: just, just, mmm... L: Southwest. S: Yes. L: Mmm.	comprehension indication confirmation request comprehension indication confirmation indication comprehension indication		solved by CL2's assumption	When I was doing the task, I didn't hear that I had to go between the two mountains until now when I am watching the video. Thus, during the task, I had doubts all along about whether I had started at the right place.

The interview reveals that CL2 actually did not hear the instruction to go between the two mountains, even though on the video, she could be seen to mark the place as instructed and then give a comprehension indication (Turn 1) for the speaker to move on.

Extract (14): Going north from the starting point

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: Yes, uh, you have to start, uh, to walk to the north. L: Hmhm. S: Em...this way, you have to leave the mountain, the mountain L: \Huhuh.	comprehension indication comprehension indication			The speaker told me to go north after going between the two mountains but I did not know how far north I had to go. I was told to continue

S: on your left. And in your right, you, you have a floo...flood area.				very close to the coast, but at that time, I didn't know what a coast was and thought that it had something to do with the desert.
L: Mmm.	comprehension indication			
S: That's, uh, shadowed in the, in the map.				
L: Do you mind start again from beginning?	backtracking			
S: I have to start?				
L: Huh, start from...				
S: Between, between the two mountains?				
L: The two mountain.	confirmation indication			
S: And run to the north.				
L: Going to the north.	confirmation indication			
S: You have your map on your right,				
L: \Right.	confirmation indication			
S: the flooded area.				
L: Okay.	comprehension indication			
S: Okay? Continue to the north, you will have on your right some...				
L: So I, I have go pass one of the mountain?	confirmation request			
S: Yes.				
L: The mountain is on, uh, in my left hand side.	confirmation indication			
S: Exactly, yes.				
L: Yes.	comprehension indication			
S: And from your right hand side, you have the flooded area,				
L: \Okay.	comprehension indication			
S: but it is redesigned in the map as a shadow, a shadowed area,				
L: \Huhuh.	comprehension indication			
S: Okay?				
L: Huhuh, but I couldn't find anything in my right hand side				
S: \Yes.				

L: \in my map. S: Yes, this is the reason I am describing this.	confirmation indication			
L: Okay, yes. (Laughing together) Then? S: You have to continue, uh, very close to the coast,	comprehension indication & request for new information			
L: \To the coast. S: okay?	confirmation indication			
L: Coast, what kind of a coast? S: The coast.	confirmation request			
L: Continue go to north. S: To the north, yes.	confirmation indication			
L: I find out, uh, on my right, right hand side, a big desert. S: Some, some trees?	initiation			
L: Yeah, some tree but a big, big desert. S: Huhuh?	confirmation indication			
L: No tree actually. Uh, if I go pass the desert, I can find a lot of tree. S: Yeah.	confirmation indication & initiation			
L: So the desert is in my right hand side. S: I am not sure about it. There are to, to... to walk very close to the coast.	confirmation indication			
L: Coast? S: Arounding the shape of the Island. L: Huhuh.	confirmation request conprehension indication		solved by negotiation	

CL2 was asked to go north, where she would see a flooded area. As she did not have a flooded area in her map, she was probably confused and therefore asked the speaker to start from the beginning. The speaker agreed to start from where the two mountains were and she was told to go to the coast. On the video, CL2

seemed to have no problem when she was doing the task; it was from the interview that we know that CL2 actually did not know what a 'coast' is. She said that she had assumed that it had something to do with the desert. She was asked to go north and the 'coast' problem was possibly solved when the speaker told her "arounding the shape of the island".

Extract (15): By the swamps and in front of the river with rapids

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: because is the south. Okay, you have some swamps.				
L: \of the southwards...huhuh.	confirmation indication			I didn't know which direction to turn, so I stopped there and waited for further instructions.
S: Swamps. swamps, okay, continue.				
L: Then go to the south and pass the river and meet a small mountain.	confirmation request			
S: Uh, before you, you cross the river.				
L: Before what?	confirmation request			
S: The river, you have to pass very close to the trees.				
L: Yes.	comprehension indication			
S: Okay.				
L: And pass the river, I meet a small mountain there.	confirmation indication			
S: Okay.				
L: And this is really confuse me.				
S: \Yeah.				
L: because I, I am not sure which way I go. **(Turn 7)**	clarification request			I was told to go down, to go south. However, since there were no definite paths or roads on the map, anywhere down from where I was could be south, so I
S: \You have, you have to surround the mountains. **(Turn 8)**				
L: Surround, surround the south area or... **(Turn 8)**				

S: The south area of this mountain. **(Turn 9)** L: Okay. S: Okay? L: Then I continue my journey to the west and pass, em...a group of three mountain, I thought in my map. S: Yes. L: Yeah.	comprehension indication confirmation indication comprehension indication		solved by negotiation	had to know exactly what my route was. I was told to go around the mountains but I thought that I had to go across a way lying between the mountains and the lake, so I drew a line up there. However, as I was still not sure of my way so I asked for the repetition of the instructions.

At Listener's Turn 7, the statement made by CL2 is marked as a clarification 'request' as it signalled CL2's problem and contained her intention of wanting to be told where to go. On the video CL2 appeared, as she said in the interview, confused about her direction as she passed the river. She made a wrong turn until told to "surround the mountains" (Speaker's Turn 8). At Listener's Turn 8, it seems that CL2 tried to make a clarification request but she did not carry it through. However, that seems to have been sufficient for the speaker to grasp her intention, as she was then instructed to go south and round the mountains (Speaker's Turn 9).

Extract (16): At the Mine

	interactional strategy	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: Yes the, the Mine you will find the Mine in the second mountain.				

L: In the second mountain of the south. S: Yes. L: Okay, that's fine. S: Uh, in the second mine, in the second mountain, you start from the north L: Oh, from the north. S: Yes. L: The second mountain from the north. S: Okay? Opposite the sandberg you have firth of the river. L: Okay. Mmm, okay, I finish.	confirmation indication comprehension indication comprehension indication confirmation indication confirmation & comprehension indications		solved by further instruction	I didn't have many problems except that at first, I was told that the Mine was at the second mountain in the south.

CL2 and her partner did not have much difficulty in finding the Mine, except that the speaker first gave her the wrong direction. Thus, CL2 went to the second mountain from the south and made a mark there. However, the error was corrected quickly enough and CL2 was able to finish the task.

Throughout the map series, CL2's vocabulary in English seemed to create problems for her, especially in the last part of Marathon when they were trying to find the finishing point. Moreover, from reading the transcript or watching her on the video, it is difficult to tell whether CL2 really understood the instructions;she tended to use 'comprehension indications' even when she had problems, as she revealed in the interviews.

- LISTENER CL3

Test Task One - Tai Tu

Extract (1): Coming out of the Palace

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: Uh, after you finish, uh, at Palace, you can walk out, uh, again in the Palace Avenue.				
L: Yes.	comprehension indication			
S: You can walk along Palace Avenue,				
L: \Yes	comprehension indication			
S: uh, to go, uh, eastern side, you can, uh, find the Monument at the right hand side.				
L: Uh, monument?	confirmation request			
S: Right, monument. It, it means, uh, at, at the same...uh...				
L: Palace Avenue, around the Avenue?	confirmation request			When I came out from the Palace, I expected to go to the other direction and didn't anticipate that I had to go back to the same direction from where I came.
S: Yes, uh, along that place, that Palace Avenue.				
L: Yes?	request for new information			
S: At the right hand side, huh?				
L: Yes.	confirmation indication			
S: The right hand side, uh, it means that, uh, when you, uh, walk up, uh, uh, down, walk, walk along the P.A.				
L: \Yes?	request for new information			
S: Your position,				
L: \Yes?	request for new information			
S: you can, uh, go straight away.				
L: Yes.	comprehension indication			
S: Uh, uh, to the end.				
L: Yes.	comprehension indication		erroneous conclusion drawn from negotiation	

When CL3 came out from the Palace, he was told to go to the "eastern side" and find the Monument on the right hand side. His interview comment shows that he had not anticipated returning to where he had come from, so he went to the other direction. It could also because CL3, at that moment, was adopting the walker's perspective. Alternatively, his problems could have stemmed from the fact that the speaker said "the right hand side", so he went to the 'west' end of Palace Avenue instead of the 'east'. The problem appeared to have been solved in the process of negotiation, but actually it was not, as CL3 drew a false conclusion from his negotiation with his partner.

Extract (2): Finding the Monument

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: On your map, but you, uh, are walking down and turn to left, turn to left hand side. Could you find...				
L: \Ah...Ah?	clarification request			
S: There's a fish market.				
L: Oh, all, all right! I think is wrong. When I be come out from the Palace.	comprehension indication & backtracking			After getting out of the Palace, though the speaker asked me to go east and then again he said it was on the right hand side. Somehow, I had to go west until I came to Heaven's Door Pagoda which I thought it might be the Monument. The places might be under different names as I remember there were differences between maps. Then I was told to turn left when I got out of the 'Monument' and walked down, therefore I walked down the street until I was told to look for a fish market did I realise that I was in the wrong street.
S: From the Palace, uh...				
L: You, you turn left or turn right?	clarification request			
S: Uh, when you, uh, come out from the Palace, you turn to left hand side.				
L: Oh, turn to left hand!	comprehension indication			
S: Yes, yes. It means on your left to the eastern direction.				
L: Yes, eastern, sorry, eastern.	confirmation indication			
S: East, eastern, yes, eastern direction, uh, uh, in, on your map.				
L: \Yes.	comprehension indication			
S: but, uh, when you see, uh, the map, your right hand side. Huhuh.				

L: In the right hand side. S: Yes, right hand side, when you walk out of Palace, L: \Yes. S: it is, uh, on your left hand side, L: \Yes. S: and, uh, you can, uh, walk, uh, along the Palace Avenue, L: Yes. S: You can, uh, meet, uh, the Monument. L: Yeah. S: You, uh, could you find the Monument?	confirmation indication comprehension indication comprehension indication comprehension indication comprehension indication			Thus, I had to go back to the Palace again and tried to find out again which way I should have gone when I got out from the Palace. Then I followed the direction to go east but I couldn't find anything there called the Monument. However, was fairly sure that I was on the right track as there were not any other roads if I had to go walking down the Palace Avenue and go east.
L: Yeah. S: Yeah? L: But the door of the...**(Turn 13)** S: Yeah, yeah, at the Monument, uh, you can turn to, uh, uh, after you, uh, finish your tour in the Monument, when you come out of it again, you can L: \Yeah. S: turn to left hand side. L: Come out, turn left? S: Turn left, yes, it means, uh, southern direction. L: Yeah, yeah, south.	confirmation indication comprehension indication confirmation request confirmation indication	unacknow-ledged problem	erroneous conclusion drawn by CL3 erroneous conclusion drawn from negotiation	I couldn't hear the word 'monument' clearly and thought that perhaps the speaker had mistaken 'monument' as 'market'. Moreover, I heard that I had to turn right when I got out of the Palace and the Monument was on the left hand side. The speaker usually used the phrase 'cross the road' to indicate I had to cross a road. However, at that time the speaker didn't ask me to cross the road, he simply said it was on my left hand side so I mistook the Market for the Monument.

As in extract (1) when CL3 came out from the Palace, his partner first told him to go east and then told him the Monument was on his right hand side "on the map". Obviously, CL3 missed that specific information and moreover, he had anticipated turning 'west' as in extract (1). Thus, when his partner told him to go to the Monument, he thought it was the Heaven's Door Pagoda. He went to the

Pagoda and came back south, as he thought he had been instructed to do. It was only when he was told to find the Fish Market that he realised he was on the wrong route. However, he had mistaken the Market for the Monument. He seemed to have doubts about it as at Listener's Turn 13 he mentioned something about the 'door'. But his partner did not seem to notice the problem and went on to tell him to turn left, CL3 concluded that the Market was the Monument and moved on.

Extract (3): At the Museum

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: Yes, southward.				
L: Huh? When you come out is, uh, main street, Progress Street?	clarification & confirmation requests			
S: Yeah, Progress Street.				
L: Uh, north or easter, uh, wester or easter di...direction?	clarification request			
S: Uh, yeah, yeah, when you, uh, finish, uh, museum,				
L: \Yeah.	comprehension indication			
S: you walk out of it				
L: \Yeah.	comprehension indication			
S: at, uh, at the gate of museum, uh, you, uh, turn to, uh, left hand side.				
L: Left?	confirmation request			After I got out from the Museum, I was told to turn left so I turned left but I had half expected to return like the previous time at the Palace. Therefore, I had to stop and ask the speaker to clarify more of the direction and I was right that I had to go east.
S: Uh, left hand side, uh, it means, uh, uh, to the eastern direction.				
L: Yeah.	comprehension indication		solved by negotiation	

Due to his previous experience at the Palace in extract (1), CL3 thus assumed

that he would have to return to the direction from which he had come. In order to be sure, he had to confirm with his partner and, this time, his prediction was proved right as he was told to go to the east.

Extract (4): At the Silk Mill

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: Is Silk Mill at the right hand side? On, on your map, uh, at the right hand side.		listener's world acknow-ledged		
L: On my right hand side?	confirmation request			
S: Ah, yeah, right, right hand side.				
L: But, uh, a factory?	confirmation request			At first, the speaker told me to turn right and go to the bottom of the map, by the time I got there, I was asked to turn left so at that moment I thought that the Silk Mill was across from where the Factory is. The speaker then further instructed me to turn right when I came out of the 'Silk Mill'. I realised then I would have no place to go if I turned right so I had to ask the speaker to clarify the location of the Mill and finally settled for the Factory as there were no other buildings down there and the fact that there were differences between the maps.
S: It is a silk mill. **(Turn 3)**		sender's world imposed		
L: Silk mill?	confirmation request			
S: Silk, S-I-L-K.				
L: Silk?	confirmation request			
S: S-I-L-K M-I-L-L.				
L: Oh, yes, silk.	confirmation indication			
S: Yeah, silk mill.				
L: Mi?	confirmation request			
S: Yeah, mill.				
L: Sorry, how to spell 'mi'?	clarification request			
S: M-I-L-L.				
L: Ah!	comprehension indication			
S: M-I-L-L, the letter is not so clear.				
L: All right, all right.	confirmation indication			
S: But silk is clear.				
L: Yeah, silk.	confirmation indication		solved by CL3's assumption	
S: After you finish at Silk Mill,				
L: \Yeah.	comprehension indication			
S: you can come out of it again,				
L: \Yeah.	comprehension indication			

S: and, uh, at the gate of Silk Mill, turn to right. L: Turn to right?	confirmation request			

Although the speaker first asked him if there was a silk mill on his right hand side and CL3 said he had a factory, his partner then imposed his world upon CL3 by telling CL3 that it was a silk mill (Speaker's Turn 3). At one point, CL3 thought that the empty box opposite the Factory (Silk Mill in the speaker's map) was the Silk Mill. If that had been the case, then when he came out from the 'Silk Mill' and turned right, he would have had nowhere to go; this helped CL3 to decide that the Factory he had was the Silk Mill.

In the first task, Tai Tu, CL3 spent quite some time on the route from where he came out of the Palace to the Monument. They went through the process of negotiation but in vain as, he still drew that stretch of route wrong.

Test Task Two - Marathon

Extract (5): Going to the nursery

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: and, uh, just pass the, the tennis court, you, you, uh..run, uh, to, uh, northern direction eastern direction. Eh...it means, uh, you, you can see, uh, nursery, uh, in your left hand side.				
L: Ros...rosary?	confirmation request			I was waiting to be instructed where to go after passing the tennis courts. Moreover, I couldn't hear the word 'nursery' clearly. I didn't really have a big problem there.
S: Nursery, Nursery in your left hand side. Uh, uh, when you pass, uh, the tennis court.				
L: Yeah, I see it.	confirmation indication			
S: Uh, eh...eh...you, you will, uh, at				

this, uh...at this..uh, two, uh, road at left hand side.				The speaker kept explaining and referring to the area around. I didn't quite catch 'nursery' and thought it was 'rosary' so that's why I wrote 'R' down in where the Nursery is and the speaker then told me to turn left.
L: Huh?	clarification request			
S: But, uh, you mean, uh, that end you can, uh, run, uh...you can run, uh, near by nursery.				
L: Mmm.	comprehension indication			
S: The, the nursery is, uh, at your left hand side, but you can run along, uh...another playground.				
L: Mmm, yeah.	comprehension indication			
S: Yeah, yeah, you don't mind the left hand side road.				
L: \Yes.	comprehension indication			
S: so you will run, uh, along at the... along side, uh, the playground.				
L: Yes, yes.	comprehension indication			
S: And you can, uh, go up street, uh, away and you will meet, uh, a, a road...uh...divided into three direction. **(Turn 8)**				
L: Yes.	comprehension indication			
S: Uh, uh, in...you, uh, should, uh... run, uh, the road, uh, to the left hand side.				
L: Hmhm.	comprehension indication			
S: Do you see? It means, uh, you are running, uh, along the, along Bowling Green. **(Turn 10)**				
L: Yeah.	comprehension indication			
S: your left hand side. You, uh, should turn to left, uh, at the corner of Bowling Green.				
L: Turn to left?	confirmation request			
S: Yes, turn to left. It means, uh, you will uh, run, uh, to, uh, northern direction. **(Turn 12)**				
L: To?	clarification request			
S: To northern direction.				
L: To the north direction? **(Turn 13)**	confirmation request			
S: Yeah, north direction. After, uh, you sh... you should, uh, turn to the right hand side, not to cross the road,				

but you, you should turn, turn the right hand side just, uh, after... uh...you pass the bowling ground wall. You should turn to the right hand side. It means, uh, you will, uh, uh, appear outside the, uh, swimming bath. **(Turn 14)**				
L: To the easter direction?	confirmation request			
S: Yeah, yeah, to the easter direction. Yeah, you can, uh, go straight, uh ahead. You will pass, uh, a one, uh...you will, uh, uh, just at the swimming bath. Uh, you, uh, you should not come to, uh, the right direction.				
L: Hmhm.	comprehension indication		erroneous conclusion drawn by negotiation	

Although CL3 had some problem with the word 'nursery', the video showed him acting on his partner's instruction and assuming that the empty box in front of him was the nursery, which he heard as 'rosary'. However, when they passed the nursery, a problem of which neither partner was aware occurred when the speaker told CL3 to "go up"(at Speaker's Turn 8). What the speaker meant was that CL3 should go up the path from the tennis courts to the nursery - i.e. the route which CL3 had already marked. On hearing the instruction to go up, CL3 did go up, around the corner of the nursery, which took him off the route marked on the speaker's map. CL3 did not seem to have doubts, even when his partner mentioned 'Bowling Green' (Turn 10); he then seemed to ignore the instruction to turn 'north' (Speaker's Turn 12), though he did make a confirmation request (Listener's Turn 13). Moreover, we cannot be sure if CL3 understood the instruction given by the speaker at Turn 14, but the ensuring confirmation request seemed to be appropriate at that point.

Extract (6): At Park Club/Bowling Green to the snacks/cafe

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: Yeah, yeah, but, uh, you, you should not go out, but you should, uh, turn, uh, to, uh, right. It means you should turn to, uh, south, southern direction. Southern direction.				
L: So...how about the Park Club and the pool (pronounced as [puar]), until I directly go to the easter, near the corner there? **(Turn 1)**	confirmation request			I didn't hear correctly if I had to go ahead of turn to the south direction.
S: Hmhm.				
L: Yeah?	request for new information			
S: Yeah, it is uh, if you, uh, run down the street.				
L: Hmhm.	comprehension indication			
S: You will, uh, uh, uh, run in the middle of, uh, there,				
L: \Hmhm.	comprehension indication			
S: and you will meet a cafe.				
L: Mmm.	comprehension indication			
S: A, a cafe.				
L: Hmhm.	comprehension indication			I was simply waiting there to be told where to turn.
S: It means, uh, when you, uh, run down the street, you will, uh, see it just before you, uh,				
L: \Hmhm.	comprehension indication			
S: there's a cafe. Eh...it is a southern direction.				
L: Yeah.	confirmation indication		solved by further instruction	

CL3 mentioned Park Club and the pool marked in his map, but he did not insist on getting an answer from the speaker. Moreover, the way he asked his question (Turn 1) did not make it clear that he was asking for help with an ambiguous instruction. CL3 seemed to be quite sure that the snacks he had was the same as the cafe on the speaker's map as he raised no query; he accepted what

he was told so there was no problem for him at that point. He simply stopped there waiting for further instructions.

Extract (7): At the lake

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: You can, a...along the lake, you can slightly, uh, turn to, uh, left hand side. You will pass, uh, one street on your right hand side, huh?				
L: Uh, I go along, totally along the lake, how then I go?	clarification request			
S: Oh, yeah, you, you will enter, uh, uh, the direction of the lake.				
L: Yeah.	comprehension indication			
S: Uh, uh, in your left, right hand side, there is a big place, huh?				
L: Yeah.	confirmation indication			
S: And, uh, your left hand side, lake, lake.				
L: Mmm.	comprehension indication			
S: And, uh, you are in the middle there.				
L: Hmhm, in the middle?	confirmation request			
S: In, in the middle of, uh, of the two place, uh, one is lake, uh, in your left hand side. And another, uh, a big place on your right hand, huh?				
L: Yeah.	confirmation indication			
S: You, you, uh, you are in the middle,				
L: \Mmm.	comprehension indication			
S: between two. And you will pass, uh, one street on your right but you, you... **(Turn 8)**				
L: Yeah.	comprehension indication			
S: will no need to turn to that direction.				
L: Turn to the, the second on right? **(Turn 9)**	confirmation request			After running half the lake, I was

S: Yeah, you pass the first, enter the second road,				wondering which road I should have gone out. I was given the impression that I should go away from the lake at the path between the two pieces of grass until I was told to go to pool and run around it. Then I realised that I had to take the path that led to pool which was round.
L: \Yes.	comprehension indication			
S: and, uh, you meet the third road. It means, uh, uh at the left hand side of lake, at the left hand side of lake, you will, uh, you will meet, uh, one uh, path to the pool, to the pool.				
L: To the pool?	confirmation request			
S: To the pool is around the pool.		unacknow-ledged problem		
L: Ah, sorry? Around...	clarification request			
S: Around the pool at the southern direction.				
L: Around the pool?	confirmation request			
S: Yeah, around the pool. Yes, you should, uh, turn. You should enter into that path.				
L: Yeah, so...from the lake, I go turn into the circle.	confirmation indication			
S: Yeah.				
L: Yeah, yeah, I got it.	confirmation indication		solved by negotiation	

In the above extract, CL3 was asked to go around the lake. In the interview, CL3 said that he was given the impression that he should run between the two pieces of grass by the second path round the lake, however, it could possibly be that he had misheard what his partner told him to "pass one street on your right" (Speaker's Turn 8) and that prompted him to make the confirmation request at Turn 9. This is further confirmed by what the speaker said next - that he should 'enter' the second road. On the video, CL3 was seen to run into the second path round the lake until he was told to go to a round pool; he then realised that he had got into the wrong path. He then came back out from the path and went to the pool.

Extract (8): At the finishing point

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: If you go, uh, if you run, run along the road, you will meet a playground, uh, on your map in your left hand side, but you don't needed to go to that direction. You, uh, you finish, you finish at the, at the grass...near the pool				
L: Finishing?	confirmation request			
S: Uh, from the pool, you run, uh, into the grassy park, the grassy area... north western direction.				
L: Uh, go into the grass?	confirmation request			I didn't really have problem finding the finishing point but I was surprised that it was on the grass as I had been running on the paths, therefore, I had to be reassured.
S: Yes, yes, go into the grass.				
L: That's finish in the grass?	confirmation request			
S: Yes, yes, finish in the grass. Are you okay?				
L: Yeah!	confirmation indication		solved by negotiation	

CL3 was told to finish his run "at the grass...near the pool". Like other listeners, CL3 expressed surprise about having to finish on the grass. In fact, among the seven listeners, only two of them, GL3 and CL3 finished their marathon on the grass.

Test Task Three - Silver Island

Extract (9): At the starting point

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: Left hand side at the bottom, uh, of your, uh, map, there's a mountain.				
L: Yes?	request for new information			I was not sure where the starting point was because I could not find the Holy mountain that was mentioned by the speaker.
S: Did you find it?				
L: Yeah, there's mountain.	confirmation indication			
S: Mmm, Holy Mountain. It's, uh,				

it's just at, uh, at the, end of the southern part of the Island. It's in the...shall we start from there?				
L: Mmm, yeah. Is, uh...	confirmation indication			
S: Are you sure...				
L: It's, uh, between two desert (pronounced as [dis:t])?	confirmation request			
S: Pardon?				
L: Desert, between the two desert.	confirmation indication			
S: Ah, desert.				
L: Yeah, between the two desert, ah, or between the two sandy beach. **(Turn 9)**	confirmation indication			
S: Ah, yes, sandy beach, yes, that's right! You just start from, uh, uh, sandy beach between two mountain. Did you find...				
L: Ah, yes, yes, I found it!	confirmation indication			
S: Yeah, there are two mountain.				
L: Yes.	comprehension indication			
S: It's, uh, uh, uh, left hand has no name but, uh, right hand side, uh, at the bottom one is the Holy Mountain.				
L: Yeah.	comprehension indication			
S: It's from...between the...uh, uh, those two, there's a sandy beach. Yes, we are starting there. Is all right?				
L: Yes, from the, uh, beach, yeah?	confirmation request			I was not sure where I had to go. I didn't know whether I had to go up or down. The speaker mentioned a sandy beach, but there was one beach next to the desert and another one below it.
S: Yeah.				
L: Okay.	comprehension indication			
S: Uh, so walk up, uh, to north, huh?				
L: Yes.	confirmation indication		solved by negotiation	

Having been asked to start from the 'Holy Mountain side', CL3 found no such mountain on his map, so he asked the speaker if the starting point was between two deserts (although there was only one desert in his map). CL3 did not mention it in

his interview, but it appears that he had mistaken the two sandy beaches for deserts, and then realised this mistake when he corrected himself at Turn 9.

Extract (10): Between the swamps and the dunes

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: And, uh, you can, uh, walk, uh, through, uh, to, uh, uh, to... between the dunes and the swamps.				
L: Swamps, swamps?	confirmation request			I didn't understand what swamps were, moreover, I was not able to find any word that looked like 'swamps' on my map.
S: You, you can, uh, see, uh, a swamp right hand side and the dunes left hand side.				
L: Mmm, we pass the, the two mountain in the middle, between the two mountain.	confirmation indication			
S: Yes, yes. Just after, just after you, uh, uh, go through				
L: \Yeah.	comprehension indication			
S: uh, two mountains, between two mountains.				
L: Hmhm.	comprehension indication			
S: See, you can find, uh, a swamps on the right hand side and the dunes on your left hand side.				
L: Mmm?	clarification request			
S: Did you find it?				
L: Mmm...no.	confirmation indication			
S: It, it is, uh, uh, just, just stay up, uh, northern part of the Island.				
L: Yeah.	comprehension indication			
S: Yeah, it, uh, you seem cannot find it. Uh, so that you can, uh, imagine, you can imagine that there is a swamps on your right hand side and the dunes on, uh, left hand side in the...top area of a...		speaker's world imposed		
L: So after the go to the, uh, easter, to the easter.	confirmation indication			
S: Yes, it means, uh, as you are walking to east, eastern side,				

L: \Yeah. S: right in the middle	comprehension indication			
L: \Yes. S: of the top side, uh, you can, uh, from there...from, uh, coast, you should, uh, turn to southern part, south direction.	comprehension indication		solved by negotiation	
L: South direction.	confirmation indication			

CL3 was told to go between the dunes and the swamps but could not find the word 'swamps' on his map, only the area where the swamps are shaded. CL3's partner suggested that he should imagine that the swamps were there; the problem was solved by checking that they would be going east.

Extract (11): At the river with rapids

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: As you cross, uh, between them,				
L: \Yeah, cross the river?	confirmation request			I was not sure at which point I had to cross the river, so I stopped there and waited for further instruction
S: yeah, yeah, cross over the, the river and, uh, you can find another small mountain.				
L: Yes.	confirmation indication			
S: Uh...you can, uh, walk down, uh, walk along, uh, the mountain.				
L: Along the mountain.	confirmation indication			
S: You can turn to...left hand side.				
L: Yeah, between the lake and the...				
S: Yeah, between the mountain and the bushy.				
L: And the bush, yeah?	confirmation request			
S: Yeah, between the mountain and the bushy.				
L: Yes.	comprehension indication		solved by further instruction	

CL3 said in his interview that he simply stopped to wait for further instruction as to where to cross the river. Although they did not have a problem at this point, CL3 could have asked the speaker for further information rather than waiting for information to be given.

Extract (12): At the range of mountains

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: It's, uh, the Mine is at, uh, foot of, uh, foot side of a, the mountain.				
L: Footside? There is several mountain there.	confirmation request & initiation			
S: Yes, there's several mountains there.				
L: Yeah?	request for new information			I didn't know which mountain I had to go and find the Mine as there were several mountains ahead of me. Again, I had to wait for the speaker to give me more instruction.
S: From the north,				
L: \Yeah.	comprehension indication			
S: second one.				
L: The second one?	confirmation request			
S: Yeah, second one.				
L: Yeah?	request for new information			
S: At the foot, uh, of the mountain. Just, just, uh, the foot of the mountain,				
L: \Yeah.	comprehension indication			
S: there is a mine.				
L: Yeah.	confirmation indication			
S: Uh...did you catch, uh, the phrase?		comprehension check		
L: Yes, it's, uh, it's in the foot of the second mountain.	confirmation indication		solved by further instruction	

When they finally came to the range of mountains where the Mine is, as in the previous extract, instead of playing the role of an active listener, CL3 waited

for instructions from his partner and was able to find the Mine eventually.

In his final task, Silver Island, CL3 made very few clarification requests. At some problem points, he simply waited for information to be supplied. Among the three test tasks, the pair spent longest on the first, Tai Tu, and they were the only subjects to take longer to finish it than the other two tasks. The main problem with the first task was that CL3 had gone in the wrong direction looking for the Monument when he came out of the Palace (see Extract (2)), as he did not expect to go back to the same route. Thus, it took them quite some time to sort the problem out. Both participants were able to make use of directions, i.e. south/north and east/west, throughout their work. However, problems arose when one of them, the speaker in this case, adopted a different perspective to direction-giving. In other words, directions are given sometimes from the walker's perspective but sometimes from the map-reader's.

CL3 gave the highest number of comprehension indications, using them at almost every speaker's pause to signal not only comprehension but also acknowledge receipt of information. It is noticeable that throughout the map series, CL3 made very few clarification requests, especially on his third task, Silver Island.

- LISTENER CL4

Test Task One - Tai Tu

Extract (1): At the Hotel

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: At that cross, uh, you, you, uh, walk, uh, walk across, uh, you can go straight, straight.				
L: All right, I have to, uh, go, uh, I'm in the Hotel.	backtracking			
S: Mmm.				
L: I have to go?	confirmation request			I didn't understand if I had to go up or down the road. I thought the speaker had made it pretty clear of where to go, it was just my problem of not being able to understand if I had to go up or further down the road.
S: Yeah, go straight.				
L: Go straight.	confirmation indication			
S: Yeah.				
L: And...				
S: In, where about in your map, are there, uh, any mention about street name?		listener's world acknowledged		
L: Yes, you told me that, uh, I have to go, uh, out of the Hotel, and then, **(Turn 5)**				
S: \Mmm.				
L: uh, to turn, uh, to right. **(Turn 6)**	confirmation indication			
S: Mmm.				
L: It means at...				
S: Palace, Palace Avenue. **(Turn 8)**				
L: Palace, yes.	confirmation indication		erroneous conclusion drawn by negotiation	
S: Mmm, yes, okay. Em, at Palace Avenue, you, uh, you will go straight, not up. **(Turn 9)**				
L: Okay.	comprehension indication			

When CL4 was told to go out of the Hotel and go straight, a problem arose

at Listener's Turns 5 and 6, when CL4 confirmed with his partner that he had to turn right when coming out of the Hotel. Further, his partner said it was at Palace Avenue (Speaker's Turn 8), but CL4 understood that he meant the Palace. At Speaker's Turn 9, the instruction given was confusing as the speaker said that "...at Palace Avenue, you, uh, you will go straight, not up", and on the video, CL4 was seen to turn right at Palace Avenue and go straight.

Extract (2): Going to Beijing Road

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: Huh?				I couldn't understand the speaker, moreover, he was much ahead of me in the route. He didn't realise that I was still behind, trying to catch up with him.
L: I have...the Palace on my left.	confirmation indication			
S: Mmm, you are...I think...your left hand.				
L: My left hand.	confirmation indication			
S: I see, different map. Mmm...okay, uh, anyway, in my map(laughing)...Palace is, uh, left hand. **(Turn 3)**		sender's world imposed		
L: Left hand?	confirmation request			
S: Ah, no, no, right hand.				
L: Ah!	comprehension indication		erroneous conclusion drawn by negotiation	

After turning into the wrong road in Extract (1), CL4 had the Palace on his left. However, his partner was not very helpful (Turn 3) when he told CL4 that the Palace on his map was indeed on the left, attempting to impose his world upon CL4. However, when CL4 asked for confirmation that it was on the left, the speaker changed his mind and confirmed that it was "right hand".

Extract (3): At Beijing Road

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: Yeah, uh, you...you should go to, you should, uh, walk, uh, on Beijing Road.				
L: Yeah.	confirmation indication			
S: Okay?				The speaker's instructions were not very clear. I simply couldn't understand if I had to go right or left. I think the speaker was confused with his left and right at that point as well. I was not told to walk along Beijing Road. I just had to visit the Pagoda there. After visiting the Pagoda, I came out from the other side because I thought that the exit was on the other side.
L: To the left, to the right?	clarification request			
S: Uh, I mean, uh, to left...to right, okay?				
L: To right?	confirmation request			
S: Mmm.				
L: Okay.	confirmation indication			
S: Uh, after that, uh, you can find out the cross, next cross and at that cross, you should turn to left, left hand.				
L: Okay.	comprehension indication			
S: This means, uh, mean on your map there's up side.				
L: Up?	confirmation request			
S: Up side.				
L: Okay, but, uh, my map if I turn to the right,				
S: \Yeah.				
L: you told me that, uh, if I go there I turn to the right,				
S: \Mmm.				
L: and then there's another cross road.	confirmation indication			
S: Mmm.				
L: To the extremely, uh, uh, right, I will have to, which near the Statue, Statue.	initiation			
S: Near what?				

L: Uh, statue. S: Eh, statue? L: Yeah. S: Statue...uh, there's no name mention (laughing) in my map, statue, uh, about...different mention, uh, what about pagoda? L: Pagoda? S: Mmm. L: Yes, pagoda, okay. S: You have? L: Yes, huhuh. S: Okay, so, uh, the first point is Pagoda. L: Yes, I have Pagoda on my, uh, different, uh, corner where your expression Pagoda on right. S: Mmm. L: Then left so... S: \Yes, yes. L: In, in my left? S: Mmm. L: So what have I do? Now I'm in front of Pagoda. S: Mmm, okay, uh, you should enter Pagoda. L: Okay, and then? S: Okay, after, uh, you go out Pagoda. L: Yes. S: And, uh, down. L: Yeah. S: Then, then down the s...street, uh, and, uh, and ah...you can find out the street, find out the Palace Avenue again. L: Okay.	confirmation indication confirmation indication confirmation request confirmation indication confirmation indication confirmation indication confirmation request request for new information & confirmation indication request for new information comprehension indication comprehension indication comprehension indication			

S: Okay?				
L: Huhuh.	confirmation indication			
S: Then, uh, you should, uh, turn to right.				
L: Right?	confirmation request			
S: Turn to right means, uh, on your map, uh, you, on you map to the left. **(Turn 26)**				
L: Is there a factory in my left?	confirmation request			
S: Mmm, factory?				
L: Yeah.	confirmation indication			
S: Ah, in your map, there's no mention. But, uh, anyway, uh, you, em, you should turn to, turn to right, okay? **(Turn 28)**				
L: Are you at...				
S: \I'm in Palace Avenue. **(Turn 29)**				
L: But I will...okay, I will, uh, I have...uh...the street I have go like that, mmm, I'll walk on the street...again.	confirmation indication			
S: What street?				
L: Palace Avenue.	confirmation indication			
S: Mmm.				
L: Again, we have to walk here?	confirmation request			
S: Mmm.				
L: Okay, I will.	confirmation indication		erroneous conclusion drawn by negotiation	

The wrong move in the previous extract had left CL4 on Palace Avenue instead of Beijing Road, which led to confusion over subsequent directions. When the Pagoda was finally mentioned, CL4 went there but came out from the wrong side of the street without seeking confirmation from his partner. However, as his route from the Pagoda seemed to match what he was told to do (Speaker's Turns

28 & 29), he did not really think there was a problem.

Extract (4): Coming out of the Palace

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: Okay, uh, after that, uh, go out the Palace and, uh, you go to Palace Avenue again,				
L: \Mmm.	comprehension indication			I was very confused with the speaker's left and right. I just didn't know which way to go.
S: but opposite, uh, direction.				
L: Yeah, okay.	comprehension indication			
S: You know? Hmhm, and uh, go straight, straight.				
L: Yeah.	comprehension indication		solved by further instruction	

Although in the interview CL4 said that he was not sure which way to go, he signalled comprehension at every instruction given. Thus, if it had not been for the interview, then we would have assumed that CL4 had no problem at that point. It is possibly due to the many mistakes they had made previously that CL4 simply could not be bothered to indicate a problem or due to his shyness that he discussed in his interview.

Extract (5): At the Fish Market/Market

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: Nations Road, you, uh, turn if you walk, uh, walk down the road, maybe you can find out the sea, uh, in front, uh...				
L: \A hotel?	confirmation request			At that point, I could not fully understand the speaker's explanation. I thought that was not the speaker's fault, I was the one to blame. I went to the wrong direction before I realised that I had to go towards the sea and enter the Market.
S: and...okay?		unacknowledged problem		
L: Yeah.	confirmation indication			
S: And you, after that, you go, uh, you have to, you should turn to right. I mean, eh, beside the sea, okay?				
L: I have to turn on my left, you say?	confirmation request			
S: No.				
L: On my right?	confirmation request			
S: Right. Right means, uh, on your map, uh, around.				
L: Okay, right down?	confirmation request			
S: Mmm, okay.				
L: Okay.	comprehension indication			
S: Em, you should, uh, em, enter the Fish Market.				
L: Okay.	comprehension indication			
S: Mmm. Do you find out Fish Market?				
L: Ah, I have to go down to the sea round then.	confirmation indication			
S: Mmm, yes, yes.				
L: Okay.	comprehension indication			

S: Then Fish Market, you, you go out Fish Market and after that, uh, down, go down, go down and at the first curve,				
L: \The straight?	confirmation request			
S: Curve, eh, not straight, curve, bend, curve.				
L: Ah, Progress Street!	comprehension indication		solved by negotiation	

CL4 took the wrong turn and was halfway down Nations Road. He asked his partner if there was a hotel but was ignored by his partner, who went on telling him to go beside the sea. At that point, CL4 realised that he should have taken the other direction so he went back to the Market. However, he did not ask which doors he should use to enter and leave the Market. When he was out of the Fish Market, his partner told him to "go down and at the first curve". CL4 finally realised that it was Progress Street that he should be in. In the interview, CL4 blamed himself for taking the wrong direction; this was perhaps because of CL4's self-consciousness about his English, as he kept repeating in interviews that his English was not good at all. He seemed not to have much confidence in using his target language.

Extract (6): At the Silk Mill

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: and, uh, you can find out may be s...silk mill.				
L: Silk?	confirmation request			
S: Silk mill.				I couldn't find the Silk Mill and could not understand what a silk mill was, so I had to stop and think before I could move on. For a moment, I thought that the Silk Mill was up where Heaven's Door Pagoda was as the speaker said it was opposite to a pagoda. I went up there, then the speaker asked me to find Fragrant Lotus Pagoda, so I had to come back down again. I found the Pagoda and thought that I had to visit it. However, I still couldn't find out the location of the Silk Mill. I could only find a factory and I told the speaker. He then suggested that the Silk Mill was opposite to the factory. Therefore, I took the place as where Silk Mill was through it was not marked on my map. I didn't realise at that time the factory was the Silk Mill.
L: No.	confirmation indication			
S: No, uh, no mention. Ah I see. Uh, silk mill is, eh, on your left hand.				
L: No.	confirmation indication			
S: Mmm, but, uh, (laughing) I can...you (laughing) enter the Silk Mill?				
L: Yeah?	request for new information			
S: Uh, maybe you can find out, uh, around there (laughing), okay? The position of Silk Mill is...eh...under the Progress Street on your map, okay?				
L: There is a factory. **(Turn 5)**	initiation			
S: Mmm, I see, but, mmm, on your, on my map, there is a mention about Silk Mill. And, you should enter the Mill, the Silk Mill. The Silk Mill is, uh, at the...uh...under the Progress Street, okay? Mmm, and up. Do you know, em, do you, can you find out Fragrant Lotus Pagoda? No?		sender's world imposed		
L: Yes. Pagoda is, uh, Fragrant Pagoda?	confirmation indication & request			
S: Fragrant Lotus Pagoda is, uh, near Silk Mill, but you can't find out?				
L: No, I can't.	confirmation indication			
S: What about silk, fruit market?				
L: Eh, market?	confirmation request			

S: Fruit market. L: Mmm, okay...I don't have the... S: Can't find out? L: But I don't have the name of the market. S: Market? Em, but this market is not a fish market, I think. L: Uh... is that near? S: Mmm, not near, but, uh, the... L: Okay, okay, okay, okay. I have to go there on market. S: Hmhm. Ah, no, no, no, no! L: No? S: I mean, uh, the Market and the Silk Mill is, uh...same, uh...uh, how do you say? Ah, I want to mention another, other way. Eh, the other way, eh, after, uh, entering Museum, okay? Uh, you go to Silk Mill, Silk Mill is under the Progress Street. L: Under the Progress Street? S: Progress Street. L: But... S: Mmm, okay? L: No, I don't have...uh... S: So, you should add the, the information about Silk Mill, uh, silk, S-I-L-K and M-I-U, silk mill. **(Turn 17)** L: Okay.	response clarification request comprehension & confirmation indications confirmation request confirmation request confirmation indication	sender's world solution suggested	solved by speaker's arbitrary solution	

CL4 was asked to find the Silk Mill in the above extract. He told his partner that he had a factory (Listener's Turn 5) but his partner told him that it was Silk Mill on his map and CL4 should enter the Silk Mill. Further, his partner employed other reference points, i.e. the Fragrant Lotus Pagoda and the Fruit Market, in an

attempt to help CL4 to locate the Silk Mill. CL4 might have provided more information instead of waiting for his partner to give him instruction. They were stuck there for a while and CL4's partner kept telling CL4 to enter the Silk Mill. Finally, CL4's partner solved the problem by asking CL4 to "add the information about Silk Mill" (Speaker's Turn 17). On the video, CL4 was seen to scribble 'silk' something, but opposite the Factory he had in his map. He was obviously confused and did not reach the Silk Mill. CL4 seemed to know that language problems, i.e. not knowing the meaning of 'silk mill', and listening problems, i.e. not knowing the location, can be interrelated, but as Anderson and Lynch (1988) pointed out, even when one knows the meaning of all the words in the aural message, that does not mean that the listening problem is solved.

Extract (7): Going back to the Hotel

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: And the, uh, you go up. Uh, no mention about street name, but you go up and, uh, the second cross, I mean Nation Road. L: Nation Road? S: Mmm. L: Okay.	confirmation request comprehension indication		solved by looking carefully	I was confused as the speaker told me to go up the road. I was totally lost until I found Nations Road and was told to turn into it.

As the pair could not solve the problem of finding the Silk Mill, CL4 was even more confused when he was told to go up after he had visited the Silk Mill. On the video, he could be seen hesitating on the road outside the Silk Mill. It was

not until the speaker mentioned 'Nation Road' that CL4 was able to find his way back to the Hotel. However, without the interview, we would not have known that CL4 had a problem of finding his way back.

Of the above extracts, only one was solved by successful negotiation. This is a good illustration of the two-sided nature of communication: CL4 did not appear to be an active listener, i.e. one who elicits information as well as receiving it; on the other hand, the instructions given by his partner were sometimes confusing, as he would first give instruction as a walker and then as a map-reader. For example, in the extract (5), CL4's partner said "...right means, uh, on your map, uh, around.". Moreover, most of the time, he told CL4 what he had on his map and insisted that his partner should enter the place.

Test Task Two - Marathon

Extract (8): Finding the entrance to the Park

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: Okay, let's go. The first, uh...is, is that, uh, on left side of the map, okay?				
L: I don't know where to start?	clarification request			
S: Mmm.				
L: Where?	clarification request			
S: Uh, left side on map, you...				
L: Left side?	confirmation request			
S: And... in West road, there is three, three, three road.				

L: \Three?	confirmation request			
S: \Three. Em...				
L: Three entrance.	confirmation indication			
S: No, no, no, no...uh...in your, on your map, are there any, uh, notice about starting point?				
L: Staring?	confirmation request			
S: Start point.				
L: Huh?	clarification request			The direction given by the speaker was very confusing. I couldn't understand where I should enter the Park. I knew that I had to start at West Road and thought that the speaker had told me to go up, go north. I started at the wrong place so the whole map was wrongly drawn. I knew at some point as I was drawing the route that it was not right but I didn't bother to go back to the starting point and had it started all over again. It was because I had a lesson to attend afterwards. I must admit that I didn't concentrate on doing the task at all so I don't think there is any point to ask me questions on this task. If you want to go ahead with the questions, you an but I wouldn't be able to answer you as I didn't take heart at all to do the task. I do want to apologise for that.
S: No?				
L: No, no, not at all.	confirmation indication			
S: Ahuh, so...you...em...we, we start at the, uh, centre, around centre of the, uh, left side. **(Turn 10)**				
L: Left side.	confirmation indication			
S: Mmm, left side and...				
L: On West Road?	confirmation request			
S: Yes, yes, yes, turn West Road.				
L: Near the tennis court?	confirmation request			
S: Yes, uh, under the tennis court.				
L: Under?	confirmation request			
S: Mmm, okay?				
L: Okay. **(Turn 14)**	confirmation indication			
S: So let's go, uh...em...at first, you have to left.				
L: Left?	confirmation request			
S: Left means, uh, up on your map.				
L: On the right?	confirmation request			
S: Mmm, uh...left, turn left.				
L: Left is on the right?	confirmation request			

S: Left...				
L: I turn West Road, em, and on the left side,				
S: Mmm, yeah.				
L: uh...there is West Road.	confirmation indication			
S: Mmm.				
L: And I can't turn to the, the right only...yes, right, sorry, right!	confirmation indication			
S: Right, okay. Uh, that mean very narrow road.				
L: Yeah.	confirmation indication			
S: Mmm, so I mean up, go up, uh, on your map, okay? **(Turn 22)**				
L: Yeah.	confirmation indication			
S: Mmm.				
L: Up and turn right.	confirmation indication			
S: Yes, yes.				
L: Narrow road, okay. Then?	confirmation indication & request for new information			
S: And...uh, you, maybe, you find out the departing point.				
L: Yes, okay.	comprehension indication			

At Speaker's Turn 10, a problem arose when the speaker told CL4 to start at the centre of the left side. For the 'left side', the speaker appears to have meant the left side of the map, i.e. West Road. However, CL4 mistook it for the left side of West Road, and on the video, he was seen to go up West Road. There are then two points in the extract that prove difficult to interpret. The first is when CL4 approached the tennis courts. The speaker told him that he was "under the tennis court" (Speaker's Turn 13). CL4 made a confirmation request at Turn 13 but went on to assure his partner that he was "okay" at Turn 14. CL4 could have asked

if he had doubts at that point but appeared to have decided against it. Further, when CL4 was told to turn right, i.e. "go up" (Speaker's Turn 22), he was still at West Road outside the Park. On the video, CL4 was seen to go 'horizontally' but not go 'up', but he nevertheless gave a confirmation signal indicating that he was going 'up' on hearing the instruction. However, when we consider what CL4 said in his interview, it emerges that at this point CL4 had realised that "the route was not right but did not bother to recheck."

In this second task, CL4 and his partner started at the wrong place and the whole route was drawn the opposite way round to what it should have been. When CL4 was watching the tape of his performance and was asked to explain his problems on the task, he answered the first question about his problem of finding the entrance but then stopped and was reluctant to go on; he said he had not actually paid full attention to the task and he knew at some point that the map was wrong. In view of this reason, further questions were not posed. Nonetheless, this illustrates that one can pretend to take interest and negotiate with one's partner(s) in a conversation, even knowing that the negotiation is not going to reach any solution. This is analogous with Wong-Fillmore's (1976, 1979) social strategy: join a group and act as if you understand what is going on. The process of communication is not interrupted whether understanding the context or not is another matter.

Test Task Three - Silver Island

Extract (9): Finding the starting point

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: Yes, uh, in my, mmm, in my map, there is a starting point. Uh...starting point is, uh...beach.				
L: Huh...could you repeat?	clarification request			The speaker told me that the starting point was near the beach, a marsh area, therefore, I thought that it was the beach which was near the desert. Then I also thought that the map was upside down as the speaker told me that the starting point was near the sea, a marsh area, something like that. I thought if the map was the other way round from the speaker's, then the starting point would have been the beach by the desert. I was confused with the shaded area and the beach. I thought that the shaded ares, i.e. the swamps, could be the beach that the speaker was referring to. I was hesitant as I thought I may have got the starting point wrong. Then the speaker gave me a hint that I should follow the coastline. Thus, I followed his instruction and I went to the coast. I saw the beach there, i.e. the one between the two mountains, then I
S: Go on, uh...left, left bottom.				
L: Your bottom, your left bottom, my left?	clarification request			
S: I think so. I hope so! **(Turn 3)**				
L: Your left?	confirmation request			
S: Yes, in my map, on my map.				
L: But...so it is be my right. **(Turn 4)**	confirmation indication			
S: I see, upside down.				
L: I don't know, I, do you think so?	confirmation request			
S: Eh...starting point is...uh...so, near Holy Mountain.				
L: Holy Mountain.	confirmation indication			
S: Hmm, and sand beach.				
L: Sandy beach.	confirmation indication			
S: Is it found out? Uh...on...				
L: The left, is it?	confirmation request			
S: on the left, at, at the bottom.				
L: Yes.	comprehension indication			
S: Same or different?				
L: Yes, it's up, upside down.	confirmation indication			
S: I see.				

L: Okay. S: Okay. Eh...so...first of all, you can, uh...you can go to direction of flooded, flooded area. L: Eh...which direction? S: Eh...in my map, uh, go up but may be different. L: Yes, go up.	comprehension indication clarification request confirmation indication		erroneous conclusion drawn by negotiation	realised that this was the beach he was talking about. when I was doing the task, I was very much confused.

The participants were trying to establish the starting point. Perhaps due to previous experience with his partner, when CL4 was told to go to "left bottom", he checked whether 'left' meant 'left' on his map or on the speaker's map. The speaker, however, gave him an uncertain answer at Turn 3, which led CL4 to ask for further confirmation. Finally, the speaker told him it was on his map's left and this led CL4 to think that it would be on the right of CL4's map (Listener's Turn 4). This may have arisen from CL4's previous experience of his partner's information-giving technique, e.g. "Turn to your left...on your map there's up side.". As pointed out earlier, the speaker tried to facilitate the instruction-giving by adopting the perspectives of both walker and map-reader, and this had confused CL4. The result was that they thought that one of them had a map which was completely the other way round to his partner's; this had caused CL4 to start at the wrong place - first from the sandy beach in the west and then from the north.

Extract (10): At Surf Island

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: After? A...I see, I think, uh, volcano is, uh, mmm, different from, uh, I imagine. Okay, maybe...(laughing) different volcano...All right, after we will go through, going through the volcano, you can see island because, uh, there is one, only one island in my map.				
L: Yeah, in my map as well.	confirmation indication			
S: As well!? I see, okay, good! So...uh...em...after...uh...after that you can go to the...between, uh, two mountain. I mean, uh, the river, there is a river. Uh...no, no, valley, sorry.				
L: There is what?	clarification request			The speaker told me to go through the mountains. I didn't know which was the mountain he meant as I had already passed through one. I thought perhaps he meant the two volcanoes in front of me. I was not sure where exactly I had to go when he said I had to go through the mountains. Even now, watching the video, I am still not very sure of whether I had to go through those mountains or not. I thought at that time there was not much sense to go on. The speaker could have told me to go east instead which is a more appropriate way of giving direction for a route.
S: Valley. Valley means, uh, between two mountains.				
L: Ah, yes.	confirmation indication			
S: \And you, you should go to the valley, go to valley, go through the valley, sorry.				
L: Uh...in order to see the...to see...to see in front of me the island,				
S: \Island? Em...				
L: if I will go to the...to the two mountains.	confirmation indication			
S: Hmhm, to the				
L: \Valleys.	confirmation indication			
S: Hmhm.				
L: I will face the Island.	confirmation indication			
S: Hmhm. After that, I mean...				
L: I, I have to do that. I have to...	confirmation indication			
S: Pardon?				

L: Do I have to do that? I mean to go to the mountains and pass the island?	confirmation requests			
S: Hmhm.				
L: I...				
S: So...uh...I mean after, uh, go, uh, after...looking at island, you should go to the direction of mountain. **(Turn 11)**				
L: Yeah, so?	clarification request			
S: Yes?		unacknowledged problem		
L: For do that, I need to pass to the the...pass to the valley, pass in my...the valley.	confirmation indication			
S: Uh...I can't understand you.				
L: Yeah, for do that to...to face the island, I have to pass to the two mountains to the valley.	confirmation indication			
S: Hmhm.				
L: Is that what I have to do?	confirmation request			
S: Uh...I think so, uh, the different order, order. Uh, first of all, you should...you can look at the island and after that, you can look at, uh, two mountain. **(Turn 15)**				
L: Eh...could you please tell me where is the starting point? **(Turn 15)**	clarification request			
S: Hmhm, yeah, okay. Uh...you mean, I mean...so...first of all, uh, you should round the beach, okay? Starting point is sandy beach.				
L: Sandy beach?	confirmation request			
S: Yeah, starting point is sandy beach, sandy beach.				
L: Okay.	comprehension indication		solved by negotiation	

As explained above, CL4 had made the assumption that the things he saw on his way would be just the opposite to what his partner told him (Speaker's Turns 11 and 15). When he then realised that he had started off from the wrong place, he asked the speaker once again to tell him where the starting point was (Turn 15) and eventually, they found the right sandy beach through negotiation. In his first task, Tai Tu, CL4 blamed himself for not finding his way on the map. However, we notice that in this extract CL4 commented on what the speaker could have done to make the work easier for him. This is possibly be due to an increase of CL4's confidence in the use of his target language, as he felt that he was on a more equal footing with the speaker.

Extract (11): At the river with rapids

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
S: Huhuh...and...did you cross the river?				
L: Now?	confirmation request			
S: Now, ah, sorry, you must cross the river.				
L: In which point?	clarification request			I didn't know where I had to cross the river. After crossing the river, the speaker then told me to pass through the forest and the mountains. The forests could only be this one on the right of the river or that one above the lake. I didn't know whether I had to go down or up from there. There were two forests.
S: Uh, which?				
L: No, where...in the middle or at the top or the bottom?	clarification request			
S: Bottom?				
L: Yeah, where? In the middle?	clarification & confirmation requests			
S: Oh...I can't understanding the meaning.				
L: I mean, when, when should I cross the river?	clarification request			
S: Huhuh?				
L: Because it's divide to nearly all the...it's divide the map, it's...uh, in two, so?	clarification request			
S: Ah...ha...ha, ha, ha! Top, top, top!				
L: Top?	confirmation request			
S: Mmm.				
L: When do I have this kind of...uh...how to say...uh...turning points that...				
S: Turning points?				
L: Ah, you see the river from south turning, turning...				

S: Turning? Like snake?				
L: Yeah, like a snake. I have to go see that point?	confirmation indication & request			
S: Eh...				
L: Do I have to cross?	confirmation request			
S: Your course is, uh, right hand of snake, snake shape of river, you know. Snake, uh, shape of river is left of your, your course, you see? **(Turn 12)**				
L: Yeah, yeah, I have to cross there, okay.	confirmation indication			
S: Mmm, and after all, you can find out small mountains,				
L: \Yeah.	confirmation indication			
S: and also, uh, there is a wood or forest.				
L: Yes.	confirmation indication			
S: You should, uh, turn to left. Turn to left means you should pass, uh, between mountain and forest.				
L: Okay.	comprehension indication			
S: Okay? Did you see?				
L: Ah, yeah. Okay!	confirmation & comprehension indications			
S: Okay, so...you can find out the lake in, on your, uh, right hand and also left hand.				
L: No, I have it on my left hand.	confirmation indication			
S: Left hand?				
L: Yeah.	confirmation indication			
S: But there are two lakes.				
L: I have only one.	confirmation indication			I thought that I might be in the wrong place as the speaker told me there were two lakes. Some of the things he mentioned did not correspond to mine. I thought I was
S: I see (laughing). In your map, there are two lakes.		sender's world imposed	solved by sender's world solution	
L: Ah, okay, you are right, okay. Then...yeah? **(Turn 20)**	confirmation indication & request for new information			

When CL4 was waiting to cross the river and asked the speaker to clarify where he should cross, the speaker was not able to give him very precise information (Speaker's Turn 12), so CL4 crossed at the wrong point and went on from there. In his interview, CL4 said that he did not know where to go, but in the extract, he seemed to understand the instruction, since he gave either comprehension or confirmation signal. CL4 should have told his partner if he was not sure which forest his partner was referring to, rather than waiting for instruction to come.

They moved on and the speaker told CL4 that there were two lakes but CL4 announced that he only had one. However, when the speaker imposed his world upon CL4 (Speaker's Turn 20) and said that there were two lakes, instead of repeating that he only had one, CL4 actually told the speaker that he was right (Turn 20). This seems to contradict what CL4 said in his interview, i.e. that he was not sure and thought that he was going the wrong direction. However, he had not expressed any doubts during the task.

Extract (12): At the river on the east and the range of mountains

	interactional strategies	speaker reaction	negotiated outcome	retrospective comments
L: I have now my map, mountains on my right hand.	initiation			I had the mountains on my right so I thought I had to go more north. Moreover, I thought that the speaker had one village whereas I had two. I needed more information.
S: Okay.				
L: Left?	confirmation request			
S: Mmm, so after all, you, you can find out the river?				
L: Yes.	confirmation indication			
S: And the river, crossing river is almost, uh, near, almost near ocean, em...near beach, you see?				
L: Near beach?	confirmation request			
S: Mmm, I mean the...				
L: Is it a kind of, uh...				
S: \Bay.				
L: Huh?	clarification request			
S: Bay!				

L: Yeah. S: Did you see it?	comprehension indication			
L: Yeah, I see the bay? S: Mmm, mmm, yeah, yeah.	confirmation indication			
L: Where do I have to go? S: Uh, you should cross the river.	clarification request			
L: Okay. And then? S: And the, uh, go straight.	confirmation indication & request for new information			
L: I will face the mountains straight? S: Yes, and the bottom of the mountain, there is a mine.	confirmation request			
L: There is a mine. S: Mine, and...	confirmation indication			
L: After crossing, I'll see a mine? S: Mmm.	confirmation request			
L: Where...at the top, to the middle? S: No, no, no, the front.	clarification request			
L: The front? S: Yeah, front of the, uh, mountain. You should...on your map there's a mine, and this is the finish point. The end of, uh, our course.	confirmation request			
L: Yeah, I see the Mine but I should go there, shouldn't I? S: Hmhm. L: Okay.	confirmation request comprehension indication		erroneous conclusion drawn by negotiation	I could not find any mark of the Mine when I was doing the task, but now I can see the marked place of the Mine.

CL4 crossed the river at the wrong place. He went on to the mountains and

his partner no doubt supposed that he had crossed the river at the right place and could go straight to the Mine; therefore he did not tell CL4 which mountain he should have gone to, though there are a range of five. Again, as in the previous extracts, there is a discrepancy between CL4's behaviour on task and in the interview: in the latter he said he could not find any mark of the Mine; on task, when asked if he could see the Mine, he claimed that he could.

CL4, the last listener in CG, was the only listener who expressed the view that the third test task, Silver Island, was the most difficult and he was the one who took the most time (23 minutes) to complete it. However, in terms of using strategies, CL4 did better on this task than the other two. On Marathon, since he wanted to finish it so he could get to his class on time, he went along with it and managed to stay in the conversation and negotiate with his partner until the end. Throughout the second task, CL4's attitude was unforthcoming and non-cooperative because he was eager to finish the task. Quantitatively speaking, on his third task, Silver Island, CL4 produced more clarification requests than on his other two. Moreover, he used questions such as "where do I have to go?" to request clarification, which he had not employed in the first two tasks.

8.2.1.2 Self-perception of Test Task Performances

In this section, we will look at the listeners' perceptions of their own performance on the three test tasks, and in particular at GG listeners' awareness of the use of the interactional listening strategies and CG listeners' awareness of their pronunciation accuracy on task. This analysis is based on the two retrospection interviews conducted with each listener: the first interview covered the first two tasks, Tai Tu and Marathon, and the second the final task, Silver Island.

- Perception of Test Task Performances

The listeners mentioned a number of factors which they think might have affected their test task performance. These factors are listed below with the listeners' perception of their performance. The number in parentheses next to the listener indicates in which interview the comment in question was made. Before we look at the factors, the listeners and their L1s are given in the table below:

Table 27: Listeners and their first languages

listeners	L1
GL1	Mandarin Chinese
GL2	Mandarin Chinese
GL3	Italian
CL1	Cantonese Chinese
CL2	Mandarin Chinese
CL3	Mandarin Chinese
CL4	Italian

(a) Familiarity with Task and Speaker -

(GL1) (1) *'I think because of the experience I had in the first task, my performance in the second task was therefore more satisfactory and better.'*

(2) *'I think the third task is the easiest and I think I did better in this one than the other two. I was more used to the speaker and getting more familiar with the task.'*

(GL2) (1) *'The first task was a bit more difficult as I didn't know what to expect. However, the experience of doing the first task had made the second task easier as I know more what and how to ask for more accurate information.'*

(GL3) (1) *'Among the two test tasks, I think I performed better in the second task. the reason is that when I was doing my first one, I didn't really know what to expect and I was quite nervous. In the second task, I had more confidence and could talk more with the speaker.'*

(CL1) (1) *'In the second task, as I had the previous experience, I found it slightly easier and was aware that I asked for more information.'*

(2) *'I think I got better every time as I have more experience. I became more familiar with the speaker's style of speaking and her accent.'*

(CL2) (1) *'In my first test task, I didn't know what to expect so I was not very satisfied with my performance in the first task.'*

(2) *'It might have been more difficult if I had not been familiar with the nature of the task. I have found it all right as I had previous experience with this kind of route-marking task.'*

(CL3) (1) *'I think that the second task is easier as I have become more familiar with the speaker and the nature of the task.'*

(2) *'...in this task, I think I had better command of the directions...'*

(b) Speaker-oriented Factors -

(GL2) (2) *'The speaker's limited use of expressions helped to make the task easier. The maps might be getting more complicated every time but because of the speaker's use of simple words, I didn't have much difficulty.'*

(GL3) (2) *'The second reason is because of the speaker's accent. it causes me confusion in the tasks.'*

(CL1) (1) *'I think the speaker didn't give me adequate instructions.'*

(CL2) (1) *'...apart from the bit that started at the lake to the finishing point. I feel that the speaker was not giving me enough instructions in that part and I feel more embarrassed to ask him too many questions.'*

(c) Linguistic Factors -

(GL1) (2) *'Moreover, I could speak and question better.'*

(GL3) (1) *'I understand that I had a lot of problems in listening and speaking when I was doing the tasks because of my insufficient knowledge in English.'*

(2) *'I have some limitations in my English, especially now that when I am seeing myself on the tape. I realise that some of the things, for example, some words in the tasks, I don't really understand, I recognise my limitations more now than before. Overall, I don't feel that my performance in the tasks is good because I have too many problems with my poor English.'*

(GL4) (1) *'My English is not good enough to understand instructions...'*

(d) Task-oriented Factors -

(GL1) (1) *'In the first task, I wasted a lot of time trying to find the right names to match with the speaker's until I remember there are differences in the maps. Then I started to look for synonyms...'*

(CL1) (1) *'I found it difficult to use my own 'mapping' method, i.e. match the*

names of the places given by the speaker to those in my map. It is because there are differences in the names.'

(CL2) (1) *'The second task was a bit more difficult as the roads were not straight roads...'*

(2) *'The map of this task doesn't have any marked roads or paths, only directions to guide. It may have been more difficult...'*

(CL3) (1) *'...there were more places of reference on the way to the destination. All these make the task a bit easier than the other two.'*

(CL4) (2) *'I could not perform satisfactorily, the third task is more complicated than the other two. I find it more difficult.'*

(e) Orientation Factor -

(CL4) (1) *'...I had problems to tell from left and right, even in my first language, Italian.'*

(f) Affective Factors -

(GL3) (1) *'...when I was doing my first one, I didn't really know what to expect and I was quite nervous...When I was doing the test tasks, I had to listen and respond carefully to find my way on the map as quickly as I could. Though it was not time-controlled, I still had this what you call 'psychological' pressure on me...'*

(CL2) (1) *'...I feel embarrassed to ask him too many questions.'*

(CL4) (1) *'I think I took longer time than the others in doing the tasks because I was sick, my health was not good. I was not with it entirely.'*

(g) Time Limit -

(GL3) (2) *'The unlimited length of time made the tasks easier, they would have*

been more difficult if I had to finish the tasks in a certain period of time.'

(h) Other Factors -

(CL4) (1) *'I think if I had not been in a hurry to go to my class, I could have done the second task quite satisfactorily.'*

- Awareness of interactional strategies and pronunciation accuracy

In the interview, the listeners were asked if they were aware of the interactional strategies and the pronunciation problems that were brought up in the training sessions when they were working on their test tasks. They expressed the following perceptions:

(GL1) (1) *'...I did find myself using some of the strategies in the tasks. Whenever I couldn't understand the speaker, I tried to repeat after the speaker and as far as I remember, the strategy of repetition was pointed out in the course.'*

(2) *'I think I did use the strategies to get confirmation from the speaker and to repeat things that he had said. I find that my repetition of some words which I didn't understand is quite useful because the speaker may know of my problem and thus, tell me more about it.'*

(GL2) (1) *'I was not aware of the use of strategies...'*

(2) *'I was not aware of using strategies.'*

(GL3) (1) *'...I was not aware of my use of strategies taught in the course because I was much under pressure and stress to try to finish the tasks. I may have used them without having realised it. In the training sessions, however, I was aware of my use of strategies in the practice tasks. I think it is because in the classroom, things are easier for me because we had informal discussions, we were not watched and we could take our time. I felt more relaxed in the classroom with the group. When I was doing the test tasks, I had to listen and respond carefully to find my way on the map as quickly as I could.'*

(2) *'I was not really aware of my use of strategies since I was too concentrated on solving the problem.'*

(CL1) (1) *'I was not aware of my pronunciation at all when I was doing the tasks or even my grammar because I was too concentrated on solving the problem, finding my way out. My pronunciation may have created problems to the speaker but I think the question and answer procedure is adequate to solve the problem.'*

(2) *'I was not aware of my pronunciation at all.'*

(CL2) (1) *'I don't think the course has helped me with my pronunciation. I was taught a bit of phonetics in English when I was in high school so I think I can make out the pronunciation of the words without much problem.'*

(2) *'Subconsciously, I might have done but I was not aware of it.'*

(CL3) (1) *'I didn't think that the course had that much effect on me so I was not aware of using anything that was taught in the course while I was working on the tasks.'*

(2) *'I was not aware of the use of correct pronunciation when doing the task. I don't think my pronunciation has improved.'*

(CL4) (1) *'...during the tasks, I didn't think that I was aware of my own pronunciation because I think in this type of tasks, the speaker's pronunciation is more important than the listener's.'*

(2) *'I don't think I was aware of it. I took it for granted, but I now realise that there were some pronunciation problems that might have hindered the communication.'*

- Perception of the speaking course

In the interview, the listeners were also asked about their general problems in learning English, the things they had learnt from the 12-hour speaking course, and their suggestions for future courses on speaking. In this section, we will look at each listener's perception of these three aspects (any negative opinions about the course and the teaching approach are underlined).

(A) English learning problems -

(GL1) (1) *'I have difficulty in listening and speaking. However, I think my reading skill is slightly better than the other skills...I think my writing skill is not good either...Apart from reading, I am rather weak in other skills.'*

(2) *'I have a lot of problems, especially in speaking and listening. Also, sometimes, I am confused with the use of the third person pronoun - he/she - in English, I simply use 'he' because in Chinese, there is no difference in gender in the spoken form.'*

(GL2) (1) *'I have problems in both listening and speaking...'*

(2) *'My problem is a matter of time. I don't have time to practise and learn more. Another problem is when I learnt English in China, I didn't have the problem of listening to different accents...'*

(GL3) (1) *'I find myself not having much chance to speak. I believe I have fairly good skills in writing and reading but when it comes to speaking, I realise I have a lot of problems in expressing myself. When I speak Italian which is my first language, I know I do it beautifully because I am very much conscious of using grammatical sentences and right words. I want to do the same to my English. However, because there are differences in the grammar between the languages so sometimes I am confused and make a mess of my English sentences as I tend to think in Italian...'*

(2) *'I don't have time or much chance to practise my speaking and listening, especially with native speakers of English...listening to English is even more difficult than producing the language because of the differences in sounds and this also gives me pronunciation problems.'*

(CL1) (1) *''Pronunciation is my main problem. I think I do all right in my grammar and vocabulary also gives me problem as well...'*

(2) *''I have many problems in English, like listening, speaking, vocabulary, writing, etc. I have too many problems.'*

(CL2) (1) *'I feel that my grammar is insufficient and that hinders me in my writing ability. The second problem is in speaking and listening...'*

(2) *'I have very little chance to write. I need more practice in writing...'*

(CL3) (1) *'I mainly have difficulty in vocabulary and pronunciation.'*

(2) *'My major problem is vocabulary. The second problem is pronunciation. Also, I find difficulty in academic writing, especially in terms of writing style.'*

(CL4) (1) *'I have very little vocabulary so I can't really express myself. I don't have problems in grammar or other skills. My main problem is the lack of vocabulary and I think the inadequate knowledge of the English phrasal verbs is also my communication barrier.'*

(2) *'Spoken English is my major problem...In general, speaking is my main 'problem.'*

(B) Things learnt or gained from the course -

(GL1) (1) *'The course has provided me a chance to speak. The situational practice tasks gave me some topics to talk about. During the training, I had to force myself to speak in order to complete the tasks. The course also gave me a bit more confidence to speak...'*

(2) *'I feel more confident and am more used to listening to the accent or 'different people, their tone of voice or the way they speak. I know that I may not understand them but I can always try to guess...The course helped me by providing me with a chance to speak. When speaking with native speakers of English, their English, of course, is good but they always speak faster than the non-native English speakers. It is difficult for me to follow. I feel more confident when speaking with non-native English speakers. Moreover, I like the situational practice tasks. I think they are useful and fun.'*

(GL2) (1) *'...<u>The course didn't help me much in any way...I have learnt nothing</u> apart from the course did provide me with a chance to speak in English.'*

(2) *<u>'I don't think I have learnt anything. I don't like the tasks...The course didn't help me at all. I have learnt nothing.'</u>*

(GL3) (1) *'I enjoyed the course quite a lot. I had to take part in the activities and discussions...I did learn the way to indicate and express what i want to say. Now I know that I have to do something to make my speech understood. I like the teaching approach taken in the course...I think that the practice tasks in the course can help shy students to open themselves up and take part in the activities since the students who partner themselves together are obliged to solve the problem together. I think that if I partner with, for example, a Spanish student, I may find it easier to communicate than with a student from Asia. It is also impossible to learn some more things as the partner is another non-native speaker of English.'*

(2) *'I really like the activities in the course since they gave me chances to speak in English. The main thing is not to be shy and speak as much as I can...'*

(CL1) (1) *'The course didn't help much. I don't think that the practice tasks we did in the course are that useful and helpful in learning English. I didn't learn anything apart from knowing more people. However, if I have to do what I had done in the tasks in real life, I don't think I am able to do it.'*

(2) *'It did raise my awareness to a few pronunciation problems that were discussed in the course. I have learnt very little in pronunciation.'*

(CL2) (1) *'The course didn't help me much but it was fun and provided me with an opportunity to come to know the others and talk in English. I think such experiences are worthwhile.'*

(2) *'The course helps me to be more expressive. I think I have learnt to express better and it did provide me with a chance to speak.'*

(CL3) (1) *'...the speaking course is too short to benefit from. I did learn how to ask questions and how to say or respond to questions directed at me. However, on the whole, I don't think I have gained much from the course.'*

(2) *'Now come to think of it, the course did help me in my pronunciation...I am a bit more aware of my pronunciation than before.'*

(CL4) (1) *'I think that it helped me to understand instructions better. The course serves as some sort of guideline in learning the language and it is up*

to me to further improve the skill. I learn from the course how to pronounce correctly and become aware of pronunciation mistakes though I think the speakers are the ones who should be aware of their use of correct pronunciation. The course is helpful but it is up to the learners to keep up with the work.'

(2) *'First of all, I have learnt to rephrase sentences when I cannot make myself clear. Also, I have learnt to use the spelling more.'*

(C) Suggestions for future courses -

(GL1) (1) *'The course should last longer and provide more practice tasks. There should also be a smaller number of people in the classroom. A class of the same level can make me learn more since a student of higher level can dominate the conversations. On the whole, I feel happy with the course and the strategies I have learnt are quite useful and practical.'*

(2) *'The course could be made longer and with fewer students in the classroom so the teachers can give more help and guidance.'*

(GL2) (1) *'I don't think much of the teaching approach, it was different from what I had experienced in China. Moreover, I don't think we can learn from other non-native speakers of English.'*

(2) *'I don't have any suggestions.'*

(GL3) (1) *'I think the ratio of one teacher to one student in the classroom is the best but I may ask for too much. I have to try harder to do the tasks with another non-native speaker of English; however, I like the tasks because I have to force myself to find words or phrases to find my way out.'*

(2) *'I can't really remember the course apart from the activities, so I can't really give suggestions.'*

(CL1) (1) *'I have no suggestions.'*

(2) *'There were too many students in one class. The teacher couldn't pay enough attention to every student in the classroom. Moreover, we were fed with too much information in one day. I think it is better to*

spread the hours evenly in one term rather than having 12 hours on two Saturdays.'

(CL2) (1) *'I think prior to taking the course, I should have taken a grammar course. I think here I have more chance to talk in English but I need to learn from more basic things such as grammar.'*

(2) *'I think 12 hours are too short for any course. Moreover, hours should be spread evenly throughout the week. Generally speaking, from the course, I have built up some confidence to speak.'*

(CL3) (1) *'The duration of the course should have been longer. I don't think much of the situational practice tasks that we had done in the course because I think they are childish.'*

(2) *'I can't really expect much from such a short course. However, I think it was good enough for a fairly short course and I have no suggestions.'*

(CL4) (1) *'The course is well-organised so I don't really have any more constructive suggestions. I think the tasks are very useful but personally speaking, I don't like this kind of tasks. However, the teaching approach in the course is good as it was informal and friendly.'*

(2) *'I can't think of any suggestions. I think it is very good the way it was.'*

From the comments extracted above, we find that most of the listeners admit to having listening and speaking problems. These two skills tend to be neglected in the language learning classroom in non-English speaking countries, especially those in the Far East. As mentioned earlier, the reason for this neglect may be the large number of students in one class. Alternatively, it might be cultural: in some countries such as China, Japan and Taiwan, the students are not usually allowed to play an active part in the classroom, and teachers are regarded as the authority in the classroom. This is also likely to affect the learning styles of the students

from these countries. Melton (1990) carried out a study on the learning styles of the students from China and concluded that Chinese students preferred kinesthetic, tactile and individual learning as their major styles. Visual and auditory were considered minor learning styles, and group learning was looked upon as a negative learning style (see Appendix XXXX for the activities involved in these learning styles). This may have accounted for certain subjects' negative attitude (GL2, CL1, CL2, CL3, CL4) towards the tasks and the course, especially when asked to comment in their first interview. However, a few (CL1, CL3) had a change of opinions about the tasks and the course by their second interview. The time duration between the first and the second interview was possibly long enough to give them sufficient time to reflect on and realise the positive benefits of the whole experience.

Most of the listeners admitted that the course had provided them with a chance to speak. However, they thought it would be better if there were fewer students and more attention from the teachers. GL3 suggested a one-to-one teaching basis but had to say it was unrealistic. GL1 pointed out that the students in the course were of mixed level in English and thought that the students with higher level of proficiency could therefore dominate the conversation if they were partnered with less proficient ones. This may be true to some extent in both the scenario tasks and the information-exchange tasks which were both used as practice tasks in the course. However, given the obligatory nature of the information-exchange in the latter even a less proficient student will be compelled to provide some feedback, though it may be minimal.

In addition, GL1 expressed the view that he felt more at ease when paired up with another NNS as he said that a NS usually speaks too fast for him to follow; with a NNS, he felt more confident in speaking. This is true in a sense that when both or all the participants in a conversation are NNSs, they may feel less threatened by each other as they share a more equal status in terms of language learning. Varonis and Gass (1985) pointed out that the discourse of NNS-NNS serves to fulfil an important function for NNSs, as it allows them both a non-threatening forum within which to practise developing language skills and also a chance to receive input which they have to make comprehensible through negotiation.

On the other hand, the other two listeners in GG, GL2 and GL3, both said that one cannot learn from another NNS. This contrasts with the findings of Takahashi (1989) who confirmed that some learners feel uncomfortable with NS interlocutors who are unable to adjust their level of speech to their NNS partners. GL3, who is Italian, also thought that if he were partnered with a European counterpart rather than with someone from the Orient, he might have communicated better. Psychologically speaking, one may feel more at ease or comfortable conversing with another person of similar or close background in terms of language and proficiency. Again, this contrasts with Takahashi (1989); the subjects in her study felt uncomfortable speaking English to a listener with the same native language background and with a low proficiency level in English. The latter factor may have applied to GL3, who appeared to be very conscious of his English and had the lowest TEAM listening score of all the listeners. The factor of the same

native language does not apply here, but further research may be necessary to look into effects of pairing conversation partners with the same or similar languages, for example, Italian and Spanish, as suggested by GL3, to find out if they do facilitate communication so as to give teachers some ideas about grouping in a multi-cultural classroom.

Almost every listener thought that the course was too short and had too many students. Some thought that the hours of training should have spread over a number of weeks during the university term, rather than packing the hours into two days. However, the speaking course is designed to provide initial practice to improve the speaking and listening skills of students who have newly arrived in Edinburgh and to help them to be aware of their own problems and potential in language learning. If it is made longer, the students may become bored as they have plenty of opportunities to converse in English in the course of their studies. Further, the heavy work load of their departmental courses may make it difficult for them to come to an extended course.

8.2.1.3 Summary

Quantitatively speaking, the listeners of both groups did not display any significant differences in strategy use after attending the course. GL1 and GL2 did produce most clarification requests than any CG listeners in their second task but this effect did not last throughout the third task.

As far as time on task is concerned, GL3 took the shortest time in his first

task by resorting to 'high-risk' strategies, as explained earlier. Most of the subjects took longer on their second task, Marathon. This was expected as the task was designed to be more difficult than Tai Tu. In the third task, Silver Island, all but one of the subjects took less time to finish than they had on Marathon. The exception was CL1, who took longer time to finish his third task. This is because CL1's speaker changed her strategy by asking CL1 about the things he had on his map.

The 3-month interval between Marathon and Silver Island might have accounted for the shorter time the subjects had taken on Silver Island since their motivation of participating in the completion of the task might have ebbed a bit. They might have their other priorities such as course work and thus, tried to finish Silver Island as soon as they could. However, it seems that we can discount this possibility as the degree of accuracy of their completed maps of Silver Island is higher than on the other two tasks. Moreover, their videotaped performances of Silver Island had shown greater smoothness in their flow of negotiation. Most of them used fewer clarification requests and more confirmation indications in this third task. On the other hand, despite the greater number of intended referential problems built into Silver Island, it had, in fact, fewer turns or corners than the other two tasks and thus, as discussed earlier, less amount of information is actually required; of course, we also have to take into consideration the increase in proficiency of the target language in both participants during the 3-month interval.

Most of the listeners, except CL1 and CL3, produced more utterances on their

second task, while the amount of information supplied by the speakers fell in every task, except GL3 whose speaker gave him more information in the second task.

In fact, the subjects' listening ability could have some effect on their performance as they are relatively poor listeners as measured by the initial TEAM listening test. However, the available data did not seem to show that this is the case and, as discussed earlier, GL3 who has the lowest listening score among the other subjects in the Pairs, was found to use the interactional listening strategies as effectively as the other listeners.

The interactions throughout the tasks might look simple, but the interviews reveal their complex underlying nature and the various factors to which the listeners attributed their communication problems and which might result in affecting their performance.

The listeners felt that familiarity with the speaker and recent task experience helped to contribute to better task performance. As their ears became more tuned to their speaker's accent or perhaps more used to the speaker's way of giving instructions, the task seemed to become easier, especially if the task was not the listener's first. Yule (1991b) pointed out that familiarity with an initially unfamiliar task type may result in better performance. The experience of doing the previous task is, thus, advantageous to the performance of the following tasks. Yule further suggested that simply through practice in doing the task, speakers in their role as information sender may become more efficient in negotiating solutions to referential

problems. Moreover, some listeners thought that the speaker's limited use of expressions and words and tasks with more places of references may also contribute to better performance. On the other hand, both task and speaker could bring about communication problems. The built-in referential problems and the winding or unmarked paths on the map could easily cause confusion and this would be aggravated, as some listeners thought, by the speakers's pronunciation or inadequate instructions. Moreover, it could be argued that the fact that the speakers received the same training as the listeners will have affected the way the speakers supplied their information, which in turn, will have affected the listeners' performance. The training of interactional listening strategies may have imposed some implicit effect on the speakers in GG, whereas the training of pronunciation accuracy may have made the speakers in CG more aware of their pronunciation. However, no obvious improvement in the speakers' pronunciation accuracy was detected in the recording of the task performances.

The profession of the participants, as was shown in the analysis, may also affect the outcome of the negotiation. For example, GL2, who has expertise in architecture, initiated the use of compass-point directions in their first task and used them throughout the other two as well. The speaker of CL2 is a practising doctor. On the video, we could see that he was very assertive in telling his partner where he was and where she should go. On a few occasions, he even gave CL2 arbitrary solutions of the location of the places under different names.

As far as language is concerned, only one listener (CL3) felt that he could

speak and question better as he moved on to the next task. Another listener (CL4) blamed himself for the difficulties that arose as he thought it was his inadequate knowledge in English that may have caused further communication problems.

The degree of difficulty of a communication problem can also be increased when listeners feel that they are under pressure, as pointed out by one listener in the study, or due to a person's personality, e.g. being too shy or embarrassed to ask questions; even one's health condition may reduce concentration on a task. Moreover, on some occasions the listeners, like those in the study, simply engage in 'silent listening', i.e. waiting for further instructions to be given rather than asking explicitly for more information by making clarification requests such as "What is the meaning of 'mill'?", or confirmation requests such as "Do you mean I should turn 'left'?". Making interactional strategies explicit can facilitate communication as they serve as indications to the speaker of the precise problems being experienced by the listener.

Nonetheless, the various strategies on which listeners may draw in trying to solve their communication problems do not always lead to success in communication. The findings of the analysis confirm Aston's (1986) claim that negotiation does not always guarantee successful 'negotiation of meaning'. Furthermore, in line with Hawkins (1985), the analysis also shows that 'appropriate responses' may not be appropriate and that they do not always signal comprehension. All these contribute to the sheer complexity of interaction and without the retrospection interviews, we could have no way of finding and looking

into this complexity. As we have seen, the products of an interaction can be illuminated by access to the internal processes that the listener is engaged in as they try to make sense of referentially difficult information.

CHAPTER 9
CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of the study described in Chapter 7 was to explore the effectiveness of the teaching of interactional listening strategies with the eventual goal of being able to answer the research questions raised in section 7.1. These were:

(1) whether strategy-focused teaching has an effect on learners' use of interactional listening strategies;

(2) whether strategy-focused teaching leads to more efficient listening performances by learners;

(3) whether the individual listener's use of interactional strategies occurs as a conscious result of instruction.

9.1 Limitations of the Study

The data gathered in the study does not allow clear-cut generalisations or provide definitive insights into strategy-focused teaching. In any case, the data gathered for the study was not intended to be representative of all strategy-focused teaching situations, since the training focused on oral skills only. As we made clear in presenting the results, a further restriction was the participation of a small number of subjects. Apart from these two qualifications, there are several factors which might have accounted for the failure to establish supporting evidence for the hypotheses.

The first of these factors is the limited duration of the training. The speaking course lasted for twelve hours, i.e. all day on two consecutive Saturdays. The training itself was therefore not only fairly short but also quite intensive. Twelve hours of training might be insufficient to raise the learners' consciousness of the target areas for learning, which, according to Rutherford and Sharwood-Smith (1985), is a necessary step in the process of language learning as it facilitates certain aspects of learning.

The second factor which might have affected the results of the study was the performance of the teachers. As explained in section 8.2.1, before the course, the teachers were briefed on the teaching approaches that they should adopt in the different classes, i.e. focusing on pronunciation accuracy in CG classes or on the the use of interactional strategies in GG classes. The briefing consisted of explanation of what the two teaching approaches involved, explanation of what 'interactional strategies' are and discussion of examples provided in the GG checklist. Emphasis was given to the need to adhere to the 'correct' approach for each group.

However, recordings of the teachers' performances show that, in fact, input in the form of comments on pronunciation accuracy and the use of the interactional strategies in those sessions was very limited. A comparative sample of the four teachers' performance in two sessions, Sessions 3 on pronunciation and 5 on interactional strategies is presented below in Table 28:

Table 28: Teachers' performance in sessions 3 and 5 - comments on target areas

Teachers	Session 3 (pronunciation accuracy)	Session 5 (interactional strategies)
A	none	none
B	2 pronunciation examples	3 clarification requests 2 confirmation requests
C	5 pronunciation examples	4 clarification requests
D	4 pronunciation examples	none

Table 28 shows that, in the sessions sampled, the teachers' feedback on pronunciation accuracy and the use of the interactional strategies was very limited; of greater concern is the fact that one teacher did not provide any input on either aspect at all; and another commented only on pronunciation errors.

In fact, in the pre-course briefing, teacher D expressed the view that it was not possible to take one approach rather than another in teaching, i.e. to teach only pronunciation and not interactional strategies or vice versa. However, in the actual course sessions, teacher D contradicted herself by taking simply one approach. According to Ferguson (1993), any education innovations that may involve change in teachers' belief or behaviour is always more difficult to accomplish than any structural or technological change. Ferguson further suggested that it could be due to the fact that the classroom is a private setting. However, it could also be due to

individual teachers' teaching experience. A teacher, especially one who has been teaching for many years, may have developed their own style and way of teaching, their own beliefs and attitudes. Trying out something new, especially when the teacher is asked only to implement the new changes and is not involved in the planning and design stages, may often bring about anxiety and scepticism. However, if the changes can be seen to be practicable and beneficial in the classroom, teachers may then have a more positive attitude about them (Huberman 1973). The pre-course briefing was held just one day before the course, so the teachers may not have been given sufficient time to take in the new approach. On the other hand, even if the briefing time were adequate, the course may not have lasted long enough for the growth of understanding and commitment which will normally come after the behavioural change (Fullan 1989) and which may eventually result in a change of attitude. Whatever the influences on their actions, in view of the evidence of some teachers' input in the study, it is not surprising that we found no significant differences in learners' observable behaviour during and after training.

Schmidt (1990) pointed out from his own language learning experience that those language forms that are more frequent in input are more likely to show up in the learner's production than those that appear in input only a few times. If this theory works on language forms, strategies brought up more frequently by teachers may have the same effect on the learners. However, considerations should be given to whether language learning takes place in a classroom setting or through informal acquisition, e.g. interaction with friends, as there will be less pressure than

in the classroom.

Apart from teacher's attitudes towards what and how to teach, their teaching style also has to be taken into account as it has possible effects on the learner's learning attitude. Young and Lee (1985) carried out a comparative study on the teaching style of Chinese teachers and western teachers in Hong Kong. They found that Chinese teachers showed consistently more favourable attitudes towards teacher-directed classroom activities than the western teachers. In addition, they also found that Chinese teachers were less enthusiastic about in-service teacher training designed to help to develop a more positive attitude towards student-centred learning and communicative teaching approach. If a language learner has been taught under this kind of style for years, their learning style is very likely to be affected, as well as their attitudes towards what they learn and what they expect. Tarone and Yule (1989) pointed out that if students from this sort of educational setting are placed into a much more active role in classroom activities and in their own learning, and if rote learning and repetition are discouraged, the students may then feel that they have learnt nothing from their teacher. Their reaction may make it impossible for them to derive any benefit from the learning experience; in other words, a negative attitude towards learning may evolve, which may work as a block to whatever they could, potentially, be learning. The comments of a number of the Video Pair listeners in this study bear this out.

There is also the possible influence of the task. According to Yule, Powers and Macdonald (1992), the kind of learning which teachers expect to take place in

the students via the materials they think appropriate may not turn out to be as intended at all. Wenden (1991) pointed out that attitudes could also be specific to a particular kind of task or may apply to language learning in general. Four out of five of the Chinese listeners in the study said in their interviews that they did not like the type of task at all, that they did not see what was the point of working on this kind of communication task, that they had learnt or gained nothing from the task; one even expressed the opinion that the tasks were 'childish'. Oxford and Ehrman (1993) pointed out that the learner's L2 learning motivation is likely to be dampened by their negative attitude towards the target culture or the value of learning and this may result in the failure to achieve the pedagogic goal. The listeners in our study actually come from an educational setting in which teachers are the pivot of the classroom activities conducted in a rather formal manner with formal materials. A survey conducted by Cowan, Light, Matthews and Tucker (1979) on English teaching in China revealed that the teaching materials emphasised drills and grammar learning, so that students were rarely given opportunities to take part in meaningful communication. They further pointed out that the major teaching methodology in China was 'rote memorization', which historically is a most salient feature of Chinese education. Teaching activities involved things such as oral repetition exercises; substitution drills; reading-aloud activities; listening comprehension activities based on taped passages with follow-up comprehension questions, etc. Though the survey was on China only, the characteristics of that educational context of language learning applies to all Chinese-speaking culture because of its traditions. The Chinese place emphasis on loyalty to parents, family, teachers and friends and respect is especially given to parents, the elderly and

teachers. This tradition is further reinforced by Confucian ideas: questions directed at the old and the intellectual, i.e. the teachers, or interruptions are regarded as impolite and aggressive, especially in the classroom.

Macdonald, Yule, Powers (in progress) also point out that as individual learners have different personalities and expectations let alone learning styles, a learning task may be regarded as having a positive effect by some learners; on the other hand, the same event may be looked upon as not helpful at all to learning. This is supported by comments in the retrospection interviews that revealed that not all the Chinese listeners, although from a more conventional background in education, hold a negative attitude towards the teaching approach and the task activity chosen in the study. This suggests that individual attitudes may outweigh cultural influences.

As discussed in Chapter 8, there are other intervening variables that may influence the outcome of the results to some degree. The recording conditions are one of these. The three tasks were administered to the Video Pairs in a room where the seating arrangement was rather formal and unfamiliar. The speaker was seated behind a large screen at one end of the room, while the listener sat next to the OHP at the other end. The subjects could see neither each other's facial expressions nor gestures. However, although this rather unnatural seating arrangement might be a variable to be considered, it seemed to put the subjects under less pressure than the presence of the video camera and the researcher. One of the subjects did mention the 'psychological pressure' that he was under during the tasks. He did not explain

to which elements the 'pressure' should be attributed, but it is possible that the whole set-up in the room had forcefully reminded him that he was being observed and videotaped.

The profession of the subjects, discussed earlier, may have affected the results as well. The listener who is in the field of architecture initiated the use of compass-point directions from the very first beginning and thus, could have helped to make the route-marking tasks easier and possibly more accurate. In two other pairs, in which one of the speakers is a medical doctor and another is a lecturer, their assertiveness in telling their partners where they should be, despite the indication of referential problems from their partners, led to the incorrect marking of a number of places on their completed maps.

The way the speaker delivers information is also to be considered; the speaker's unfamiliar use of words and expressions which had not been used previously and the different perspectives, i.e. the walker's or the map-reader's perspective, adopted by the speaker could both affect the results. In other words, the speaker must maintain some consistency in giving the information so that the listeners will not be confused. Moreover, the speaker's pronunciation, accents and intonation also should be taken into account, as shown in the qualitative data.

As mentioned in 8.2.1.3, the task itself is another factor. A map task may be designed to have more built-in referential problems, but the fewer number of turns or corners along the route may balance out the number of referential problems

actually arising in performance of the task.

We have also considered other variables such as the listeners' listening ability, the effect of the training itself on the speakers, (which in turn may have affected the supply of information) or the motivation of the Pairs affected by the 3-month interval between the second and the third tasks. However, these did not seem to be borne out in the available data.

9.2 Assessment of Performance

As discussed in Chapter 6, the reasoning behind the use of a particular form of communicative task in the study as a suitable kind of activity for the training in interactional strategies was connected with information distribution, and the roles required of the participants in order to bridge the information gap, so as to solve the overall problem. Nonetheless, this kind of communicative task raises a particular difficulty in the form of how best to assess the listener's performance. One look at the map route marked according to the speaker's instruction can give a different impression of the listener's performance if the listener employs some 'high-risk' strategies, as one of the listeners in the study did. GL3 made the assumption that all the places in Tai Tu under different names on the different maps were the same. He consequently took the shortest time of all the listeners to finish the Tai Tu map, since he engaged in little negotiation with his partner. It also happened that GL3 managed to get the route right, i.e. matching that of the speaker, so that from the point of view of product-based assessment, he was highly successful and effective. However, from the process perspective he might be

considered a poor performer, since the conversational transcript of his Tai Tu performance showed that he had used very few of the clarification or confirmation requests which have been shown to achieve communication and claimed to facilitate L2 development. Such cases underline the potential problem of basing assessment on the listener's performance in terms of product. One might compare this with a pupil who has copied homework from one of his classmates; he might have got full marks from his teacher but on the other hand, he might have learnt very little or nothing at all as he had not attempted to do it on his own and ask when he had problems.

In view of this limitation of product assessment, it is worth looking at the process itself so as to find out the underlying problems of a learner. Through analysis of the process, the teacher is able to look at both participants' performance and will come to know what are the sources of the pair's communication problems, e.g. whether it is due to the listener's or the speaker's inadequate vocabulary, pronunciation, the speaker's clarity of information and the listener's strategy use. Insight into the process, in fact, enables the teacher to know about the learners in terms of language and communication as well as attitude.

9.3 Benefits of the Study

Although this study has failed to show any marked advantage in the short term in trying to teaching interactional strategies in the L2 classroom, it has had some positive aspects as it has explored the use of video to gather process data on the task in progress. This has a number of benefits from the analyst's point of view.

By using this method, any note-taking and subsequent analysis can be done in one's own time and thus, can be more thorough. Moreover, it makes the study of an individual learner's performance much easier and, especially in this kind of route-marking task, the points where the actual communicative problems arise can be noted. In terms of assessment, the videotaping method makes process assessment more effective. On the video, the whole negotiation can be followed even in cases when the participants have completed what they regard as a satisfactory negotiation, unaware that they have actually achieved an incorrect solution. As we have seen, negotiation in problem-solving tasks does not always lead to successful solution. There is also a practical benefit of using the videotaping method as time can be superimposed later on, if analysis requires.

Used in conjunction with a retrospection interview, the same tape provides memory support so the learners remember what their problems were and will be able to comment on them. The collecting of verbal report data in verbal reports protocols is still considered to be beneficial since it is the only way that we can explore or retrieve necessary information from one's mental processes[7] (Cohen 1987). However, the fact that the interviews may take place some time after the tasks means that the learner's verbal report on their mental events may be inaccurate because of limited memory capacity. With the help of the video-taped performances, the degree of inaccuracy can be minimized. The retrospection comments also give a more thorough (and often different) picture of where the real problem lay, how the problem was solved and,most important, how much the learner really comprehended, especially in cases where appropriate responses were

given but actually did not signal comprehension.

The videotaping of the map projection has an advantage as well since it would not be as intrusive as videotaping the subjects in other ways, such as videotaping the paper map over the listener's shoulder or with the camera facing the listener. These positions of the camera not only put the listener under more 'psychological pressure' but also the size of the map would not be desirable.

From the point of view of the teacher, the problems on the video, which cannot be shown on the product, can immediately be seen. The videotaping method could also be used as an aid or reinforcement in teaching as the use of the videotaped performance of learners provide learning examples. It would of course be impractical to videotape the performance of every pair or group, but teachers could choose a sample pair or group in class to videotape when the task is in progress; later on the sample performance can be replayed to the whole class and discussion can be held on what the teacher wants to focus upon, e.g. what interactional strategies can one use, pronunciation accuracy or idiomatic use of expressions, etc.

9.4 Further Issues

The study has also raised a number of issues which would perhaps worth looking into further. Firstly, there is the question of how best to persuade teachers to adopt a new approach. Teachers, we have suggested, do not always teach what they are expected or asked to; the solution to this is perhaps to provide more

focused training in how they are expected to teach - interactional listening strategies, in this case. This is advisable not only to try to achieve the desired learning effect but also to give teachers a closer idea of what the teaching (of strategies) involves and why. A more complete picture of the teaching approach may help to eliminate any bias against that approach, when it differs from the one they are familiar with. Teachers' attitudes towards what they teach can affect their teaching which, in turn, can influence the results in terms of what is learnt. Training given to teachers prior to the adoption of any new specific teaching method or approach may then be necessary. Ferguson (1993) suggested that the agenda for training that involves changes should perhaps be set by the teachers themselves, because they can relate it more directly to classroom reality; in addition, it also gives teachers more motivation and commitment as they have a role in organisation as well as implementation related to the innovation.

Secondly, our study has underlined the difficulty of consciousness-raising; the format (or scale) of the course was not adequate to demonstrate any marked change in learners' use of strategies or a skill in some cases. The question remains, however, as to how much time is required for a strategy (or a skill) to become automatic to the learners. Of course, the different learning rate of individual learners is bound to play a part in the process, but in general, how much time should be considered to be adequate? This may be difficult to find out and may in any case vary greatly from individual to individual. Perhaps the best thing to do in order to reduce the time taken would be to help learners to raise their awareness of their own learning processes and the explicit purposes of the teaching - i.e. a

similar approach to that suggested above for the teacher. For example, before attending a course or at the beginning of a course, the learning process underlying the course could be explained to and discussed with the learners so they can be aware of their own learning process and idiosyncrasies and thus, perhaps monitor more of their own learning. Wu (1983) stated that students from China usually respond well to activities when they realise the purpose behind them. He further suggested that any fundamental change in the classroom must be introduced gradually and sensitively together with constructive explanations of the reasons for such changes. If this applies to students from China, it might be able to apply to all the other learners as well.

The third issue raised is whether there is a relationship between a learner's language background and the production of certain strategies. According to Block (1986), strategies do not seem to be language-specific. In other words, learners, despite their different language backgrounds, might still employ the same kind of strategies. However, Reid (1987) concluded that learners from different language backgrounds sometimes differ significantly in their learning styles. For example, would a Chinese learner use more confirmation requests whereas an Italian learner could use more clarification requests? Moreover, as GL3 pointed out, he might have understood better with a Spanish student as his partner rather than a Korean. Thus, a question that arises is whether two students sharing close links in their native languages, i.e. languages of the same family, are paired up as partners in this sort of communicative task, their performance would be better, as they understand each other more and thus, be more beneficial to their L2 development. If this is the

case, then it would be helpful, as pointed out earlier, in organising a multi-national ESL class. On the other hand, this may become a hindrance to the integration of learners and thus, may affect the exchange of cultures, ideas and even accents.

The listening ability leads to the fourth issue. The wide range of listening ability among the subjects in the study did not seem to have an influence on their performance. In other words, the learner with a low listening ability, as in the case of one of the GG subjects, seems to be able to use the interactional listening strategies as effectively as those who possess a higher listening ability. One avenue for further research would be to look into the types of clarification and confirmation requests that the learners make, i.e. whether the clarification request made is general or specific and whether the confirmation request is simply a repetition of the speaker's message or it is an approximation or perhaps a rephrase, in order to find out if the types of responses are related to the 'low' or 'high' listening ability of the learners.

The fifth issue that would require further investigation is the possible age effect in strategy training. Does strategy training work more efficiently with younger learners than adult learners? Adult learners may be more critical of, and may hold a more biased attitude towards what they are taught and what they learn. They tend to be more fixed in the way they prefer to learn and expect to learn, which may sometimes make it difficult for them to adjust to an unfamiliar teaching or learning approach.

Finally, there is the question raised by Hawkins (1985) as to how we can find out exactly what is comprehended by learners through interaction. In other words, how can we know when learners use appropriate responses that actually do not signal comprehension? However, on the other hand, we could look at this 'appropriate response' matter as a learning process that low level learners may have to go through. We have discussed cases in this study where apparently appropriate responses in fact disguised non- or mis-comprehension, and the process of negotiation was not interrupted. Hawkins (1985) suggested that the researchers should collect retrospection data from a large number of subjects in order to find out which interactional patterns can help to sift out the appropriate responses that do not signal comprehension to establish the role of 'foreigner talk' in second language acquisition. However, from the point of teaching, should we regard and accept it as part of the L2 development specifically found in learners who are not in advanced level, as in the present study and in Hawkins (1985)?

In sum, strategy training is a relatively new exploration in teaching. Although the present study has not established its effectiveness in the specific area, we believe that strategy training is more preferable in classroom involvement as it may provide a short-cut to learning. In the learning process, learners may eventually discover and develop their own strategies; however, with strategy training under the guidance of teachers, the period that eventually leads to the discovery and development of strategies may be reduced and this may lead to the quickening of the learning process. For this reason, it is important for us to look further into issues related to strategy training in language learning.

NOTES

1. (Chapter 2)

The criteria to be effective listeners in the listening comprehension strategies research by O'Malley et al (1989) were decided collectively in advance by the teachers and the researchers. They asked for attentiveness in class, ability to follow instructions without further clarification, ability and willingness to understand the general meaning of a difficult listening passage and to guess the meaning of unfamiliar words and phrases, and ability to respond appropriately in conversations.

2. (Chapter 3)

It is reported in Skehan (1989).

3. (Chapter 3)

According to Berlo (1980), the communication process is composed of a source, an encoder, a message, a channel, a decoder and a receiver. Within this process, listening is part of the activity and shares some similarities with the learning process, which contains a stimulus, perception of the stimulus by the organism, interpretation of the stimulus, a trial response and a recording consequence of the trial response. Berlo pointed out that there are three steps in the two processes which are equivalent in their functions. A message can be thought of as a stimulus and when the message is decoded, it is perceived as a stimulus. When a new message is encoded, an overt response to the stimulus is made.

4. (Chapter 4)

A small part of this chapter appeared as Luk (1992) in Edinburgh Working Papers in Applied Linguistics No.3: 78-87.

5. (Chapter 5)

A substantial part of this chapter appeared as Luk (1992) in Edinburgh Working Papers in Applied Linguistics No.3: 78-87.

6. (Chapter 5)

It is important to note here that the available research mentioned in the thesis on strategy training in both L1 and L2 concerned mainly with the explicit teaching of strategies, i.e. they are general techniques for more effective language learning.

7. (Chapter 9)

It is from Hayes and Flower (1983).

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